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EDUCATION OF THE DEPRIVED AND SEGREGATED, SEMINAR ON EDUCATION FOR CULTURALLY DIFFERENT YOUTH, CONDUCTED BY BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS, SEPTEMBER 3-15, 1963.

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THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE MAJOR FINDINGS, ISSUES, STRATEGIES, AND PROJECTS WHICH EMANATED FROM A SEMINAR ON THE EDUCATION OF DEPRIVED AND SEGREGATED CHILDREN AND YOUTH HELD AT DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS, SEPTEMBER 3-15, 1963. FOUR HIGHLY INTERRELATED SOURCES OF EDUCATIONAL FAILURE WERE IDENTIFIED--(1) THE QUALITY OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE, (2) SOCIAL CLASS, RACIAL, AND ETHNIC PATTERNS, (3) THE TECHNOLOGICAL-ECONOMIC FACTOR, AND (4) THE CAPACITY OF THE SCHOOLS FOR CREATIVE CHANGE. THE SEMINAR WENT ON RECORD AS RECOGNIZING THE EXISTENCE OF EDUCATIONAL DISASTER AREAS OF SUCH MAGNITUDE AND INTENSITY AS TO CONSTITUTE ONE OF THE GRAVEST EMERGENCIES FACING THE NATION. (LP)

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SEMINAR ON EDUCATION FOR CULTURALLY DIFFERENT YOUTH

Cooperative Research Project No. G-021

EDUCATION OF THE DEPRIVED AND SEGREGATED

Report of a Seminar
conducted by
BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
at Dedham, Massachusetts
September 3—15, 1963

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Introduction

The following report describes the major findings, issues, strategies, and proposals for specific programs that emerged in a seminar on the education of deprived and segregated children and youth held at Dedham, Massachusetts, September 3-15, 1963. The seminar was organized to search for new ways to educate children who, because of segregation, poverty, or both, are failing to gain an adequate education.

The seminar was held under the auspices of the Bank Street College of Education and was underwritten by the U. S. Office of Education, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, and National Institute of Mental Health. Help with planning came from the Panel on Educational Research and Development, a government advisory unit that reports to the U. S. Commissioner of Education, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology.

Joint chairmen of the seminar were John H. Niemeyer, President, Bank Street College of Education, and Jerrold R. Zacharias, Professor of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Chairman of the Panel on Educational Research and Development. The chairmen had the assistance of a steering committee of five: Ralph Ellison, Morris Janowitz, Marcus Raskin, David Street, and Joseph Turner. Endicott House, Dedham, Massachusetts, a conference center owned by M.I.T., was used for seminar sessions and provided accommodations for the majority of participants.

The conference was interracial and interdisciplinary, including educators, physicists, sociologists, writers, psychiatrists, politicians, and numerous others. The structure and design of the conference were planned to stimulate thought on the problem among persons from a broad variety of backgrounds in American life.

This report summarizes the deliberations of the seminar and its working groups and describes some of its conclusions. It incorporates a section of pertinent statistics compiled for the participants and a transcript of an address by Ralph Ellison, "What These Children Are

Like." Mr. Ellison's remarks were a healthy antidote to the stereotyping and oversimplification so often implied in the term "cultural deprivation."

It should not be assumed that the conclusions drawn in this report represent a unanimity of viewpoint among the participants. Any conference dealing with such a difficult problem and with such a heterogeneity of representation is bound to generate an extremely broad range of viewpoints and, to some degree, disagreement and dispute. This seminar was no exception. On a number of issues there was no consensus, although there was overlapping of clusters of viewpoints. In this report we shall try to indicate not only the major issues of disagreement, but also the prominent areas of agreement. In retrospect, there were many.

Summary Report of the Seminar

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ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

The seminar was committed to considering what things education might do for those children and youth who, because of deprivation and segregation, are not getting the kind of education that will prepare them to become effective adults in our changing world. The group sought to identify promising ways to attack the problems of "the difficult 30 per cent," as these children were called throughout the sessions.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Several significant assumptions were involved in the planning and conduct of the seminar.

1. Despite rising standards of American education, the problem of national educational failure—whether measured through dropouts, grade retardation, evaluations of levels of literacy, unemployment of youth, or any one of a number of other indices—is becoming increasingly apparent. Parallel to the problem of the continuance of poverty in a generally affluent society is this problem of the continuance of inadequate education in an educationally upgraded nation.

2. The problem is becoming more acute because of changes in the larger society, particularly in the skill requirements for employment, which make it increasingly likely that those who fail to receive an adequate education will fail occupationally and in many other ways.

3. The problem is widespread, but it also is concentrated in certain groups and locations. Educational failure is interlaced with other social problems, such as poverty, racial discrimination, and political inequality. It is particularly acute in "pockets of poverty," among the mountain people; among the residents of the rural South, white and Negro; and among those urban groups least far along the road to adaptation to urban life, such as the Negroes and Puerto Ricans who have recently migrated to the cities. It is most dramatically apparent in the big city slums.

4. Something *can* be done. Numerous small-scale experiments—many of them reported on in the seminar—indicate that effective action *can* be taken to increase educational success with the deprived and segregated. The aim of the seminar, therefore, should be to discover and identify the most appropriate measures of action and to conceive of them on a scale great enough to address the full extent and character of the problem. Funds and entrepreneurship are needed, and that is where the federal government can be of assistance.

5. Recent years have seen a flowering of national attention and interdisciplinary cooperation in upgrading the quality of instruction in physical science and mathematics. This effort has tended to benefit the fortunate 70 per cent and to have little impact on the difficult 30 per cent. It is time to turn the attention of persons involved in curriculum reform in science and mathematics, along with persons from the social sciences and other disciplinary, professional, or organizational spheres, to the problems of the children with whom education is making little progress.

DIAGNOSES OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of educational failure that results from deprivation and segregation is complex. Much energy at the seminar went into the effort to diagnose the problem—to identify its major sources and to understand their dynamics—as a first step toward planning action. Four highly interrelated sources emerged as perhaps most important.

1. The quality of family and community life. For reasons of poverty, bad living conditions, uprootedness, racial discrimination, broken homes, and a variety of other causes, many of the children of the difficult 30 per cent come from an environment that does not adequately prepare them—in language skills, motivation, self-respect, and values—for the standards of the conventional school. For many slum children, the life of the streets is more compelling than the life in the typical school room, and the moral climate of what some characterize as a corrupt society may teach the child more than the school does. At the extreme, the community and home may leave the child not only socially disabled but also psychologically damaged.

2. Social class, racial, and ethnic patterns. Because of their position in the society, lower-class children, and the children of the nonwhite lower classes in particular, are disadvantaged in a number of ways. Poverty begets poverty. The children tend to be discriminated against, stereotyped, counselled "down," and perhaps "loved but not taught."

Also, lower-class culture collides with the expectations of the school, and in terms of what the school expects, these children are "culturally deprived."

3. The technological-economic factor. As a result of technological and economic changes, occupational skill requirements are being upgraded dramatically, while the demand for labor is failing to keep pace with the expansion of the economy and population. The result is an increase in the unemployment of youth, which is extreme among those who are unskilled. Among the consequences of the latter development are the high concentration of unemployment among selected groups in the society and a loss of motivation for school work in those students whose future in the labor force is bleak. It is obvious that the educational system alone cannot solve this problem, but it is also clear that the schools have not kept pace with the changes in technology and the economy. At present, vocational education generally does not provide adequate training for participation in the rapidly changing labor force.

4. The capacity of the schools for creative change. For a variety of reasons, the schools are deficient in their capacity to meet the problems of deprived and segregated children and youth in creative ways. The following are important among these reasons.

a. A shortage and inflexibility in the use of resources, which limit many school systems in providing adequate remedial and counselling services, sufficiently decreasing or varying class size, instituting new programs, or taking other needed actions.

b. The general tendency toward traditionalism and inflexibility in school system operations. In the big cities, administrative organization and bureaucratic control often limit the possibilities for creative innovation. In all systems there is a tendency to rely on traditional practices; for example, the recruitment criteria for school personnel are defined narrowly, usually so that professional educators are the only adults allowed inside the classroom, and teachers spend almost all of their in-school time teaching, with little time for planning, contacts with colleagues, or in-service training.

c. Curricula and teaching often are inadequate. Teaching tends to be formally academic and restricted by rigid concepts of graded materials and course work, and teachers often spend their time "presenting material" rather than stimulating the development of inquiry, initiative, interest, courage, and industry among the students. Textbooks and other curricular materials frequently fail to capture the imagination of the students, many of whom simply find school a bore.

d. The school is especially inadequate in adjusting to lower-class children. The expectations of the school are middle class, involving the application of tried-and-true teaching techniques to "normal" children. Because the difficult 30 per cent are not normal in terms of the school's expectations, the result is often simply to lower standards and to assume that the school can produce only poorly with such poor students. The lower-class child may have verbal virtuosity in the language of his own culture and may have high imagination, creativity, spontaneity, and aggressiveness, but there is little opportunity for him to use these attributes in the school. When the gap between cultures is not bridged, the child often fails to have any substantial success in school as a basis for the development of attitudes of trust and self-respect.

e. The school's relationship to the community often is inadequate. Frequently there is weak coordination between the school system and those community agencies that also are involved with the child and family. Further, the school often is unable to communicate effectively to parents and help educate them in ways to make the total environment of the child more supportive of the goals of education.

STRATEGIES FOR ACTION

The seminar members were agreed that the problem of educational failure with deprived and segregated children and youth is severe and that strong and immediate remedial actions are necessary. Creative solutions will require coordinated action on many fronts because: first, adequate efforts at educational change simply are beyond the fiscal and administrative capacities of many of the local school systems; and second, many of these changes must involve not only the schools but also governmental, business, labor, foundation, university, and community groups if they are to succeed. A broad variety of strategies, involving different aspects of the problem and different agencies for action, is appropriate. Many of these strategies would involve federal action as a prime stimulant, for only the federal government seems to have both the financial and political resources needed to take the large-scale action required.

EDUCATIONAL DISASTER AREAS

A key element in formulating strategies is the assumption that the federal government and other political units must recognize educa-

tional failure as a problem of social policy of grave national proportions. The government should provide aid to what might appropriately be called "educational disaster areas." In the same way that the federal government recognizes that certain parts of the country have economic problems beyond local or state capacity for remedying, it would acknowledge the need for action in areas of high educational failure, the inner city slums, the rural South, and elsewhere where failure is evident and the need great. This view is embodied in a position paper on social policy approved by the seminar as a whole:*

> This seminar goes on record as recognizing the existence of educational disaster areas of such magnitude and intensity as to constitute one of the most grave emergencies confronting the nation. In these disaster areas, poverty, often accompanied by segregation, has produced large numbers of functional illiterates, and it continues to do so in great numbers.
>
> We are convinced that literacy is the key to educational success. We also are convinced that failure to attain this skill predicts failure in school, unemployment, dependency, and crime. At present, our only national knowledge of literacy depends on necessarily inaccurate inferences from data on students by grade level, and on the belated and presently alarming results of tests given to military draftees.
>
> The conference believes it vital that policy makers and public alike be alerted to the facts about illiteracy and its consequences in personal tragedy and economic waste. We must be prepared to give the same priority to using the nation's wealth for educationally underdeveloped areas at home as we do abroad. It is a high crime against the nation's youth and the nation itself that we have not seen ourselves as able to afford to educate our underprivileged youth up to presently feasible levels of success.
>
> The conference is of the opinion that on the basis of suitable criteria, including a standard test of literacy achievement, educational disaster areas should be designated. Federal funds sufficient to achieve presently attainable national educational standards should be made available to school systems in these areas. There is sufficient knowledge at present of the educational effects of such factors as teacher competence, class size, the availability of teaching materials, programs of student incentives for further education, and school-community programs for us to act. With existing knowledge,

* This paper was approved unanimously at the final session of the seminar. Unfortunately, a number of participants were unable to remain for this session, and consequently it cannot be assumed that each person listed as a participant would subscribe to the position taken by the paper. Also, some individuals who voted approval of the paper as a whole were not in favor of various specific statements but felt that their objections to specifics were less important than their support of the central point of view that the paper expressed.

national resources can be used more effectively to remove this educational blight from our population.

The evidence presented in this seminar strongly indicates that the immediate preschool years, kindergarten, and grades one and two are critical for the attainment of reading skills that are basic to educational success. This finding indicates that for many children these years are a disaster period. As a consequence, in addition to directing resources to educational disaster areas, we need to redirect educational resources to the disaster period—the early grades—in education. There is a need for heavy emphasis on these years in education. In addition, substantial research and development efforts should be funded in dealing with the educational problems of the primary years, and in particular for problems of success or failure in reading.

Yet we would fall short of our obligations to the youth of the nation if we aimed merely for the control of disaster. The plans we have outlined above should bring to an end the failure of the schools to perform their minimum function. We know how to improve such failing schools. But their very failure provides us with a challenge to attempt to bypass many of the defects of the typical American public school. In rebuilding from disaster, bold revisions of method and organization and daring innovations of content and of attitude are possible. We need educational experiment, both research and development in action, of many kinds. For instance, we need schools in the city whose ties with community and parents are far closer and richer than the monthly meetings of the Parent-Teacher Association, where third-graders can grasp experiments in microbiology, where seventh-graders can write, set, and perform real theater, and where high school students can learn Russian if they will. We can afford such schools. Indeed, before too many years we will be unable to afford anything less. We must move forward to revised notions of the school, and most of the work of the seminar details the investigations and trials we ought to embark upon.

Such laboratories of excellence in schools ought not to be diffuse, nor should they be concentrated where the problems are simple. Our nation should, in order to manifest its dedication to this task, select an area where problems are presently most intense. In this area it should make a showcase of its schools. There are many reasons why *the nation's capital* should constitute such a showcase, but whatever the area, the effort should be massive and concentrated where the problems are greatest.

WORKING GROUP APPROACHES

The above statement on social policy indicates one area in which the seminar, in the time available, was able to develop general agree-

ment. Most of the plenary sessions were devoted to hearing expert diagnoses of the problems of educating the difficult 30 per cent and to discussing reports of various innovative programs or experiments. The major work of hammering out specific strategies and programs for action took place in working groups created among the seminar participants. These groups dealt with eight areas of potential action that had emerged as most promising in the first few days of meetings and were reported back to the seminar as a whole at the end. Excerpts from these reports begin on page 24. The groups were as follows:

1. Curriculum reform. This group considered ways to apply new developments in curriculum to the schools attended primarily by the difficult 30 per cent and to stimulate experimentation and sweeping reform, liberating intellectual and artistic achievement, through revisions of curricula, materials, and teaching in these schools.

2. Literacy. Members of this group considered literacy, literacy tests, and ways of raising levels of literacy nationally.

3. Model schools. This working group was concerned with what model schools for deprived and segregated children might be like, what functions they could serve in promoting educational change generally, and how they could be developed.

4. Early childhood education. The initial deliberations of this group were concerned with establishing guide lines for preschool programs that would operate in areas with large numbers of deprived and segregated children. Later, the group broadened its purview to include education of children ages six to nine and developed notions of early childhood centers.

5. Teacher education. This group considered the desirable attributes of the teacher of the difficult 30 per cent and ways to train teachers to acquire such attributes.

6. School, community, and society. This group devised plans for projects aimed at mobilizing the community to help accomplish the goals of education.

7. Strategies for organizational and administrative change. Members of this group attempted to lay out a prototypic comprehensive strategy for massive change in the educational systems that serve the difficult 30 per cent.

8. Youth work and youth education. This working group took a broad look at the premises and patterns of work and of education for work in the "new society" and developed a large number of proposals for reform.

MAJOR STRATEGIES

The working groups devised a variety of approaches and special programs, varying in content, emphasis, and modes of implementation. These contain a number of common elements, such as a recurrent stress on the inclusion, in whatever projects are implemented, of research and development activities concerned with the question of how to make the process of change continuous and self-generating, and an emphasis on making certain that experimentation in the schools serving the difficult 30 per cent is included in any general educational projects that are developed. There was also an emergence of a significant number of major themes that were shared in the thinking of many clusters of participants. These themes or strategies are listed below.

1. Fostering cooperation between school systems and colleges, universities, or other groups. Colleges and universities should come to the aid of the schools that serve the difficult 30 per cent, and the schools should encourage them to help. The colleges should provide consultants from many disciplines, developing educational extension services and providing task force aid in curriculum reform. Specifically, they might develop cooperative programs of instructional reform in the South, provide high-level instruction in short courses in mathematics and physical sciences to graduates of Negro colleges (which are weak in these fields) or cooperate in running demonstration centers nationally. The colleges themselves should run model and experimental schools in urban and rural slums, and they should provide teacher training and internship experience in schools for the difficult 30 per cent. Further, they should develop programs for training specialists in in-service education of teachers and middle-level and high-level administrators, orienting them to the schools for the difficult 30 per cent. Not only school systems and colleges but also business, labor, government, and other units must cooperate in restructuring education for the world of work. Finally, procedures for facilitating cooperation between schools and other child-related agencies should be discovered and implemented.

2. Developing and disseminating improved teaching techniques, curricula, and materials. Through new efforts in pre-service and in-service teacher training, demonstration projects, improved use of new and old media, and other means, ways must be found to develop and disseminate information about promising teaching techniques. These techniques might range from linguistic and other new approaches in teaching reading to a variety of innovative teaching formats, including nongrading and team-teaching. The aim would be to foster teaching

that is nonbookish, intuitive, sensitive, warm, flexible, imaginative, and responsive to the child. Curricula and materials should be revised through mobilization of experts from the academic disciplines, cooperative ventures between universities and school systems, research, introduction of curriculum specialists, inclusion of the difficult 30 per cent in ongoing curriculum projects, and other techniques. Efforts to improve the teaching of reading should avoid overconcentration on the new technical systems (not only phonics and look-and-say, but also phonovisual, programmed instruction, initial teaching alphabet, sounds by colors, and so on) that currently are flourishing. Experimentation with such systems is important, but attention must also be given to integrating the teaching of reading with improvements in other classroom experiences of the child. Deprived and segregated children often come to school with little concept of the *uses* of literacy. Reading should not be conceived of as something to be mastered only through basal readers and *before* other learning can take place. Instead, learning to read should be accompanied by, and come partially through, learning about science, social studies, literature, and other areas, learning that will provide an intrinsic motive for gaining literacy skills.

3. Stressing the early years. Special attention should be devoted to the preschool and primary school years. Deprived and segregated children often come from environments that have not prepared them for the conventional expectations of the school and so must be given special help to become ready for school. Further, the initial school years must be adapted to their needs. Specifically, preschool and nongraded primary centers should be set up, developing flexible, well-staffed, and community-oriented programs.

4. Mobilizing resources. Standardized procedures should be found for assessing needs and allocating additional resources for individual schools that have large numbers of the difficult 30 per cent. School systems would receive funds for new or rehabilitated buildings, additional teachers, nonprofessional aides, and materials for these schools.

5. Creating model and laboratory schools and experimental school systems. All kinds of model schools (for example, public schools run by cooperating universities or colleges, demonstration centers, summer schools, schools devoted to innovation in vocational education, or prototypic experiments within whole school systems or significant segments of school systems) should be established. These experiments should be started in a great variety of settings and might use all types of formats, including those of the nongraded school, the boarding school,

the tutorial school, or even the school without a principal. As much as possible, these schools should have built-in dynamics of change and great diversity and flexibility in their educational program.

6. Upgrading teacher education. Training of teachers for the difficult 30 per cent should be upgraded through a variety of techniques. These include greater use of films and display and demonstration centers, the development of training programs that give the trainee more experience with children before the period of student teaching, the creation of courses that deal with new curriculum materials, the development of a national program of summer training for teachers, and experimentation with beginning the recruitment and training of teachers while they are still in high school. Other promising techniques include providing for internships in schools and preschool study centers, giving school systems resources to release teachers from classroom duties for in-service training, and providing physical science and mathematics training, particularly for faculties of southern colleges.

7. Improving school-community relations. Most new programs of all kinds should contain, as a major element, heightened cooperation with, mobilization of, and service to the community. Community residents—adults, dropouts, high school students, and even grade school pupils—should be recruited into the educational task, as amateur volunteers, as paid teachers' aides, or in other roles. Such programs as the proposed preschool and primary grade centers, or enlarged work-study education projects should be run under a variety of auspices involving the community. Further, specific programs using school-community agents should be initiated, along with attempts to make the schools more congenial to the parents and to establish more effective communication with them. Finally, schools should become more highly involved in cooperative efforts with other agencies that deal with children and youth, including libraries, welfare and health agencies, the police, groups that operate study centers, agencies administering the proposed national youth corps, and the military.

8. Changing the social organization of the school and the school system. The school's capacity for creative change to meet the problems of the difficult 30 per cent must be enlarged. Ways to do this include: redefining roles and recruitment criteria for staff; training and using greater numbers of specialists, volunteers, and paid subprofessionals; raising teacher incentives by increasing specialization; providing teacher resource rooms and freeing teacher energies by turning over simple tasks to aides; upgrading specialization in curriculum construction and planning; providing improved planning and research

and development operations in the schools; upgrading training of administrative personnel; making the schools more accessible to the community and redefining boundaries to diminish student travel; and facilitating flexibility and experimentation through such techniques as operating model schools, having open-ended hours for attendance in preschool centers, and abolishing rigidities in vocational education requirements.

9. Revolutionizing education for work. Education must be upgraded radically if it is to provide adequately for the education of the difficult 30 per cent for the changing world of work. Promising steps include: the elimination of present rigidities; the establishment of skill centers; the more flexible teaching of a wide range of vocational and technical skills to both youth and adults; the improvement and enlargement of work-study and guidance programs; the development of training for new kinds of work; the establishment of university-run experimental and demonstration vocational schools in urban and rural slums and racially integrated regional technical schools in the South; and the development of a program to give financial support to dropouts who return to school. Changes in education for work will have to be accompanied by major programs for providing work for youth.

QUESTIONS AT ISSUE

The major strategies just discussed, coupled with the specific reasoning and proposals embodied in the reports of the working groups, constitute a broad basis for action. In general, the seminar was agreed that all of these strategies are worth implementation or, at the least, experimentation. Disagreement—and there was a considerable amount of it—centered around various issues of emphasis or priority. Probably no two participants would analyze the bases for disagreement, or even what the disagreements were, in the same way. However, the following analysis can be advanced by this participant:

The major disagreement on emphasis in the seminar was one that came to be identified with two main blocs represented at the conference, the physical scientists and mathematicians on the one hand and the social scientists on the other. With exceptions, the physical science group tended to stress the need for radical change in the content of the schools, particularly through thoroughgoing reform of curricular materials of every kind and at every level. Such change implies steps of small-scale experimentation and the creation of model schools. Again with exceptions, the social science group tended to stress the need for immediate federal aid and large-scale social action and ex-

perimentation on the basis of present, even if incomplete, knowledge. Whereas the physical science group tended to see itself as holding higher long-run aspirations, viewing the social scientists as settling for spreading "smug suburban standards" to all schools, the latter group saw its opponents as educational romantics, ignoring the harsh realities of pressing needs and inequities requiring broad administrative and fiscal changes.

In part, this disagreement may have reflected differences in the view taken of the root of the problem and the point of entry to its solution. The natural scientists tended to assign the greatest weight to deficiencies in the student's experiences of the classroom, whereas the social scientists tended to put more stress on the social patterns of the community and on the bureaucratic or "structural" elements of the school system. The difference in views also reflected divergent views of how the behavior of teachers toward the difficult 30 per cent might best be changed: whether summer conferences, redesign of materials, and other techniques that have been successful in upgrading physical science and mathematics teaching would be effective with this problem or whether efforts to produce change must be focused on the principal, the structure of the school and school system, and the relationships of school and community. Disagreement was heightened by differences in the interpretation of the Negro revolution in American society—not of the importance of this revolution but of its immediate relevance to the educational problem under discussion. The conference undoubtedly was much affected by the fact that it began the week after the march on Washington. To some of the participants, including many in both blocs, the seminar was morally obligated to stress only such programs as would specifically and strongly promote the welfare of Negroes in our society.

Another continuing difference of opinion was over the strategy of emphasizing early education by establishing preschool centers for deprived and segregated children. Many participants placed great emphasis on programs of preschool education. Others demurred, believing that, although preschool programs might be beneficial, they threaten to divert resources from the immediate need to effect change in programs for the established school years.

In addition, there were continuing disagreements over such persistent questions as: the limits to the school's growing role as a social welfare agency; the potential political implications of social studies instruction; the possible dangers in heightened cooperation between the school and such agencies as the police and the military; the relative

priority of racial integration in the schools; the dilemma of whether to concentrate on helping the academically talented or on the general population of students; and the extent to which the school should be monolithic and "middle class" rather than pluralistic, adjusting to the various cultures of its students.

Finally, a major concern throughout the conference was the question of whether or not the strategies devised would and could in fact be implemented in view of the dependence of many of the proposals upon political action. Several participants questioned whether current means for communicating to the executive branch of the federal government are adequate, and it was recommended by the working group on Youth Work and Youth Education that a Social Science and Social Policy Committee, parallel to the President's Science Advisory Council, be set up to advise the President. Some members of the conference, of course, also doubted that the strategies devised in the seminar, even if implemented, would push the education of the difficult 30 per cent over the threshold. Over-all, however, the seminar was agreed that serious attempts to use these strategies are imperative and probably likely of success.

Next Steps

JOHN H. NIEMEYER
President
Bank Street College of Education

In the preceding section, Dr. David Street has achieved the nearly impossible task of summarizing two weeks of formal and informal discussion and writing by 60 persons from diverse fields, assembled to consider one of the most complex phenomena facing our nation.

No two participants would have summarized the seminar in exactly the same way. No individual could hope to capture all the ideas and perplexities expressed in papers written before, during, and after the seminar. No individual could give unity to the discussions carried on in formal meetings, over meals, during walks, and in small groups sitting in the living room of Endicott House into the small hours of each morning. Dr. Street has surmounted the many difficulties, however, and has given us a picture of the many lines of action in education that the seminar considered as ways by which society could meet its obligation to the children of the poor and the segregated.

The true report of a conference is written in the ensuing actions of the men and women who participated in it. In fact, the stimulating of participants to assume expanded personal commitment was one of the underlying hopes in organizing the seminar. Every member was chosen because he was engaged in work that has important relevance to the problem under consideration. To the extent that the experience of the conference has reinforced the purposes and deepened the insights of participants in their relevant work, the effectiveness of the seminar is attested.

How much influence the seminar may have exerted in the communities of the 60 participants is not known, but during the succeeding year at least three major programs of action discussed in the working groups at Dedham became reality.

MODEL SCHOOL SYSTEM

One proposal for accomplishing large-scale change in public schools for the disadvantaged was the creation of a model school system or, more accurately, a subsystem. The suggestion was to invest one section of a public school system having a functional entity (for example, one senior high school with its feeder junior high and elementary schools) with the autonomy and freedom to do whatever was necessary to meet the educational needs of its pupils.

Following the conference some of the participants in the seminar decided to explore the possibility of implementing this proposal in the nation's capital. Several persons and institutions were approached with an offer of assistance in organizing and planning a model subsystem. Early in 1964 Dr. Herman Branson brought together a group at Howard University to discuss this possibility, the group including representatives of the Washington, D. C. public school system, Howard University, members of Washington's intellectual community, some participants in the Dedham seminar, and some persons familiar with the curriculum reform effort. Subsequently a steering committee to advance the project was appointed jointly by the Superintendent of Schools, the Chairman of the School Board, and the Executive Secretary of Washington's official community action program. At the writing of this report the school system and the committee were exploring ways to work together effectively.

THE NEGRO COLLEGE PROGRAM

Since colleges with predominantly Negro enrollment train thousands of teachers (typically, 50 per cent of the graduates are preparing to teach), the quality of education in Negro colleges became a concern of the seminar. As a result of discussions at Dedham, and under the leadership of Dr. Herman Branson, one of the seminar participants, a special committee of the American Council on Education initiated a long-range program to assist these colleges. Five summer institutes for 237 faculty members from Negro colleges were offered in 1964, underwritten by grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Rockefeller Foundation. The professors in attendance at these institutes studied recent advances in the teaching of college mathematics, physics, biology, history, and English.

A related summer program developed new curricula in English and mathematics for seniors in Negro high schools in the South who plan to attend college in other parts of the U. S. High school teachers and university professors who held a writing conference at Wellesley, Massachusetts, with the support of the Carnegie Corporation, developed new materials, methods, and techniques. These were to be tested in the field in 1965.

THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CENTER OF BANK STREET COLLEGE

Another program for action that has grown out of the seminar is the Educational Resources Center program instituted by Bank Street College of Education in New York City's Harlem. The Bank Street ERC seeks, in its first three-year phase, to stimulate improvement in some of the lowest-achieving elementary and junior high schools in the New York City system, a program that will reach 1200 teachers and 28,000 disadvantaged children. Essentially the ERC proposes to support a reorganization of the use of school personnel to give impetus and ongoing support to curriculum innovation and the professional development of teachers. Bank Street's levering force consists of a small staff of experienced educators, and curriculum materials and curriculum specialists, working with the administrative, supervisory, and teaching personnel of two school districts. The physical center of the ERC program contains a demonstration classroom, seminar rooms, and a curriculum materials laboratory through which promising new ideas for curriculum innovation are funneled to the schools. The ERC, therefore, is an experiment in exploring ways to introduce change in a significantly large administrative unit of a school system and to institutionalize the machinery for sustaining a continuing process of change and development.

In addition to initiating these three examples of action, the seminar contributed to the ideas contained in the influential report of the Panel on Educational Research and Development, "Innovation and Experiment in Education"—an appropriate if but token repayment for the fact that the Dedham conference was conceived at the request and with the active assistance of the Panel.

The emphasis at Dedham was on the importance of collaboration between school systems and institutions of higher learning to improve the education of disadvantaged children and youth. It is interesting

to note how closely the new NDEA provision, Title XI, resembles the conference statement. The new law sponsors institutes run by colleges and universities for training teachers of the disadvantaged. Educational programs are now also financed under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, which offers practical help for school systems that are desegregating their schools. The Civil Rights provisions enable them to plan with neighboring colleges for in-service programs and teacher-training institutes to assist school personnel in meeting the special educational problems incident to school desegregation. Members of the small group that met at Dedham in the fall of 1963 may justifiably consider that they have participated in the vanguard of a great national movement.

Excerpts from Reports Prepared in Working Groups

WORKING GROUP ON CURRICULUM REFORM

Curricula that are widely prevalent today fail with large numbers of our children and specifically with those now segregated and deprived. Major educational success will not be achieved merely by pushing harder to effectuate today's average of success with these children. In education as elsewhere, subtle and indirect forces of alienation, as well as those that are overt and direct, must be supplanted by full opportunity and freedom. What is called subtle and indirect, moreover, is often only that which is perceived as such by persons who are remote from the intimacy of the school and the classroom. For the children in them these alienating influences often are overpoweringly direct and decisive.

An area of special concern—a "disaster area," indeed—is the primary school, grades kindergarten to three. It is in these years that patterns of failure are etched deeply. Functional illiteracy, failure at the most rudimentary levels of education, is common and almost irreversible.

A special kind of innovation entails the deliberate enlargement of the curriculum to liberate more of the vital energies of children in intellectual and artistic achievement. This does not mean to replace basic subject matter by peripheral activities, but to expand the relevance of that subject matter in the lives of children. It means an emphasis upon drama, upon laboratory equipment that includes the common materials of the child's environment, and upon the arts of design and construction. Most important, it means that these activities should be made available with thoughtful exploration of their relevance to the essentials of intellectual, aesthetic, social, and moral development. They should not, as so often is the case at present, be regarded as something outside the curriculum.

How can we choose between reform which is significant and that which is not? We see no easy answer. However, we can suggest

criteria for the type of reform that seems to us most promising. Effective curriculum reform: (1) is the collaborative work of "discipline" experts (usually at the university level), teachers, and educators; (2) emphasizes the preparation of new instructional materials characterized by authenticity of content and variety of approach; (3) involves intensive exploratory testing of the new content and instructional materials in schools, followed by revision in the light of the findings; and (4) includes appropriate education and reeducation of teachers, supervisors, and administrators to strengthen and extend their ability to translate the new curriculum into classroom action.

To help the schools correct the deficiencies in their curricula we recommend that demonstration centers be established throughout the country to serve as yardsticks for surrounding school systems. Each demonstration center would be an autonomous school system.

A national information service also should be established to disseminate curriculum designs and teaching innovations developed in the demonstration centers.

We propose a program for intensive training in physics and mathematics for graduates of American colleges that have limited offerings in these areas.

There are numerous curriculum reform projects now under way in the United States for primary and secondary schools, in several fields including mathematics, reading, science, and social science. These have been marked rather uniformly by a substantial improvement in subject matter and the logic of its organization, as judged by professional persons in the relevant disciplines. Materials thus developed have been perceived as raising educational standards and, as though this were synonymous, as more difficult for children to master.

We do not believe that this simple relationship, equating better with more difficult, is correct. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that recent curricular reforms are creating many materials that are potentially more accessible to the learning styles of children than materials currently in use, including children of the 30 per cent now educationally dispossessed.

Item: Children do not learn to read unless and until reading becomes for them a meaningful extension and expansion of their lives. They do not learn to read unless they know and enjoy the uses of language, to deposit and recover and cherish, as something that connects them to a world beyond the immediate and the transient. Children euphemistically called disadvantaged suffer the specific disadvantage that their early involvement in the world of adult discourse

has often been very slight and that their meaningful association with manipulable things and with pictures and books has often been almost negligible. To teach reading as a technique without full exposure to these experiential prerequisites is to stay on the surface, not dig under. What they have lacked they must be given, and it is of the essence of the good reading curriculum.

Item: Children are taught the rudiments of science—of planetary astronomy, or magnetism, or optics. But they are taught in words that have no meaning except through antecedent experience, through many sorts of exploration and abstraction with size and scale, with shape, with motion and force. A picture of perhaps a single demonstration supports the weight of a scientific answer. To expand something called science at this level again is to stay on the surface, not dig under.

Item: Thanks to the innovations of an earlier time, paint and construction paper, modeling clay, and the rest have become everyday materials of the primary school. Unfortunately, they are often used in a way that produces purely imitative work with an undue emphasis on skills detached from meaning. The resources of the present technology can greatly extend the range of theses materials in a spirit that reunites the interests of art and science. Here is a piece of modeling clay; how tall a tower can you build with it? Freed from the demand for imitation, children in a group build a marvelous diversity of towers, borrowing and adapting, but not imitating.

WORKING GROUP ON LITERACY

Reading is the basic educational skill. Its mastery is a prerequisite to success in all that follows in education. As such, a facility in this subject determines in great measure the academic success or failure of the student. In turn, this determines the student's capacity to assume a useful role in the labor market.

The evidence presented indicates that the preschool years are a critical period. Failure to achieve success in reading during the first two grades usually predicts subsequent reading retardation, educational failure, and finally dropout or token passing.

It is proposed that the concept of the depressed or disaster area be applied to the wastelands of education as typified by our urban centers. The development of a yardstick, or standard, to define the educationally depressed area is of top priority. This standard should relate to reading in the same way as the measurement of unemployment is used in the definition of the economically depressed area. With this

concept, one might extend to the local communities the full force and resources of the federal government to correct immediately the flagrant abuses that exist. The following proposals are submitted:

1. In each of the cited depressed areas, federally sponsored agencies should be established to provide coordinating services for local school systems and voluntary groups.

2. With the aid of appropriate experts, these agencies should establish internship programs whereby qualified nonprofessionals, retired and semi-retired professionals, and other members of the community might be trained to fill the void until teachers could be supplied in numbers commensurate with the need.

3. Programs should be established to investigate and develop ways to define and identify reading readiness, or the capacity to discriminate and generalize, in the preschool child. Diagnostics to define further the extent and degree of illiteracy also should be developed.

4. The concept of the volunteer aide as utilized in the conventional hospital situation should be introduced as a means of freeing the teacher. The discipline-oriented tasks (such as lunch, recreation hall) could be taken over by paid volunteers from the community. This approach would relieve the teacher and serve as an impetus to introduce the culturally deprived parent to the school.

The problem that is central to this seminar is the plight of those children who are crippled by learning disabilities, who develop resistance to all school tasks and either withdraw in defeat or become aggressive in school and society, and who leave our schools functionally illiterate, unable to fill the jobs that our society has to offer. Years of research have led to a few conclusions but more often to further hypotheses.

The conclusions are three. First, these children come to school with the potential for learning; that they develop such problems is often the responsibility of the school. Second, the initial evidence of the problem is usually seen at the time the young child meets and gropes with the task of learning to read. Third, any successful attack upon the prevention problem must first be focused upon the primary grades, for in many, perhaps most, instances the resistances against school learning are initiated within the early weeks of first grade. The third grade is too late to initiate therapy if we are completely to save children from the damaging effects of defeat in the earlier grades. Beginning the remedial treatment in the second grade is too late. Even after one year of failure, the symptoms of low self-image and resistance to learning are deeply entrenched and difficult to eradicate.

WORKING GROUP ON MODEL SCHOOLS

A model school is viewed not as an ideal school but as an experimental one, seeking to induce and to test innovation by its example. The nature of such a school is strongly dependent upon its milieu and upon the physical, cultural, and natural environments from which its children and staff come.

Every aspect of a model school's program need not be outstanding or novel or unique. Its program is not a prototype *in toto*. Although such a school demonstrates new ideas that may be adapted for use in other settings, it does not attempt to force these new ideas in their pure form into other quite different settings. It does, however, experiment for the purpose of assembling data on the effectiveness of varied methodology and curriculum content.

In order to encourage imaginative development of new ideas, a researching school should avoid confusing the hypothesis-development and hypothesis-testing aspects of experimentation in education. It should not generalize conclusions without having applied proper experimental designs at some point. However, such a school should try out new ideas even if those ideas have not been thoroughly tested and evaluated. It should also be free to experiment without fear of immediate censorship. But just because a particular idea works in a particular setting at a particular time, that idea should not be disseminated on a large scale before the problem has been stated, an hypothesis formulated, careful observation and experimentation made, data interpreted, and conclusions drawn.

Although the immediate focus of our attention is on the problems of educating those young people who come from segregated, low-income families living in ghettos, we should not be restricted to schools in which these children are students. The urgency of the problems of the difficult 30 per cent, however, is so great that priority should be given to the urban slum schools and the southern Negro schools.

We insist that the researching school cannot be restricted to an age level. What is appropriate at one age may be inappropriate at another. Two other considerations must be emphasized: (1) developmental levels and developmental sequences may be different in different cultures; (2) age is more than a chronological sequence. There are maturational, learning, evolutional processes to consider. There are hierarchies of learning.

Any researching school must, of course, have built into it a means for evaluating results. It must make careful studies of alleged "magic methods," while avoiding the suppression of initiative. It should test,

but careful research in this area is vital, as many reputable educators take a dim view of many of the existing tests.

Replications and controlled experiments are necessary, and some national if not governmental agency should monitor such results. Publicity is needed to disperse widely the creative ideas and the effective methods.

The school programs for children from poverty-stricken, segregated families living in the South and in the large urban areas of the North have been, and continue to be, so rigid, sterile, sluggish, and dishonest that we are faced with a national disgrace of gigantic proportions. Bold, vigorous, *immediate* action must be taken to envision new thresholds in education for these children and to effect swift, widespread changes of the highest quality in schools that already exist and in schools that may be created.

The purpose of a model school from the point of view of the difficult 30 per cent might be stated this way:

> The very least they [the 30 per cent] want to know is what you know. They want the opportunity to enable them to master the techniques that will enable them to take their rightful role in the society of which they are a part.
>
> They do not wish to become you, nor do they wish to make you like themselves. But they would have you respect their uniqueness as you respect your own. Most of all, they wish to possess the opportunities and the techniques through which they may discover and achieve as individuals and as citizens.

WORKING GROUP ON EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

The premise that organized early childhood education for deprived or slum children can be decisive and significant is supported by three main bodies of evidence. The first of these is historical record. These data are elusive and sometimes imprecise, but in total they are much too massive and suggestive to be ignored. Almost without exception, the great educational innovators and reformers have stressed the importance of the early years of childhood, and in many instances the preschool period has been given the chief priority.

The second and the largest body of evidence derives from theories and experimental research relating to human growth and development. Although there is no universally accepted theory of human personality, the disciplines commonly included in what are now called the be-

havioral sciences accord primary importance to the years from birth through age six. Psychologists, anthropologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists tend to disagree about many things, but they tend to concur in granting crucial significance to the first five or six years of life in the molding of individual human potentialities.

Finally, there is a considerable body of evidence, much of it fairly recent, that derives from the practice of early-childhood educators, social workers, and clinicians in the contemporary development of modern nursery and day care centers. Some of this work deals with children from middle-income segments of the population. Other programs have been concerned inventively and creatively with children from impoverished homes, depressed areas, minority groups, transient populations, as well as children suffering from other social, physical, or mental handicaps. Remarkably promising results have been achieved through these efforts.

There is a movement now under way in the United States, in more advanced public school systems, for the ungraded sequence in the grades between first and third. One of the theories behind this development is that learning processes cannot be rigidly defined according to scope and sequence or according to self-contained class structures. Therefore, more open and flexible methods of structuring the classroom are to be desired. In addition, this is a more effective way of utilizing staff strengths and resources.

PRELIMINARY IDEAS TOWARD A DEMONSTRATION PROPOSAL

We support the idea of a saturation project. There is great transiency among the low-income segments of the population in many communities. Over a two- or three-year period there might be so great a turnover that there would be no cumulative or continuing effect and the positive achievements would dissipate and disappear with time. To prevent this, it seems wiser to make sure that all children within a relatively self-contained community will be exposed to the program.

We also stipulate that the hours of our model school must be highly flexible. For example, the schedule of the school might require that it open at 9 A.M. and continue even as late as 10 P.M. We would expect that maximum attendance in this type of school would be during the period from about 10:30 through 3:30. The major concentration of educational programming would be in the central hours of the day.

The school is to be planned on an 11-month basis. It is suggested that various summer experiences might be tried.

The school must provide for special aides, for example, high school students or older elementary school students to pick up the children and take them home in the evening.

With respect to pupil-staff ratio we specifically repudiate rigidity. In general, the ratio would vary from as low as 1:6 to as high as but no higher than 1:15.

With respect to housing our demonstration schools, we want them to be part of an ongoing school system.

PARENT EDUCATION COMPONENT OF THE PROGRAM

Because of the importance of the family in the child's total experience, the school would seek to promote both parental cooperation and parental education. We are suggesting the designation of a special full-time staff member to function in a capacity referred to in other committee reports as the "school-community coordinator" or "agent." In the model school that we are projecting, such a person would be a parent educator or a social worker, preferably with a professional degree and some experience in the schools.

WORKING WITH CHILDREN

Among the disadvantaged children there are strengths that stem from the experiences of human beings responding to great adversity with courage and ingenuity. Any school that fails to assess and use these strengths denies itself an asset of inestimable worth. With these children comes courage, then, in addition to the fear, laughter (though not always), and tears—misery with kernels of joy. Great imagination accompanies a few, but most minds at first reflect the narrowness.

TEACHER TRAINING

We are quite clear that we want long-term traineeships. We stress this because we feel that children in the lower 30 per cent need excellent instruction and that a lot of coming and going, a lot of temporary help, would be dysfunctional. Thus, as a working policy, no one should be present who could not stay a minimum of six months.

As this model school finds acceptance, we would hope that the entire approach to teacher certification would be basically reexamined and the promise of teacher internship as the major certifying experience given thoughtful consideration. We recommend that special attention be paid to the recruitment of male teachers for our program.

The preschool center considers all human beings involved in the preschool as affecting the learning environment of the child. There-

fore, it assumes some responsibility for orienting the cook and janitor, not only the teaching staff, to its point of view toward children.

The director and master teachers are directly responsible for the training of three categories of personnel: helpers, teacher assistants, teacher interns.

Helpers might be adult neighbors or older children who live in the neighborhood of the center. They may assume responsibility for getting the preschoolers safely to school and home. Helpers might also be children from neighboring schools who make equipment in shop, come in occasionally as storytellers, etc.

Teacher assistants are high school graduates who get on-the-job practical training in routine tasks that, when done well, free the teachers for concentration on more crucial areas of the program. These routine tasks involve dressing and undressing, setting up play areas, preparing supplies, eating and sleeping routines, safe playground use.

Interns are college students or graduates who serve full time at the center. Their assignments are likely to require more on-the-spot decisions and judgments, greater flexibility of approach, more subtle motivational techniques, capacity to improvise and modify good preschool activities to fit particular situations, abilities to observe children and to perceive growth patterns. The intern is experimenting under the guidance of the master teacher with subprograms involving single to small groups of children. Over a period of a year these experiences will involve her in all areas of the program.

WORKING GROUP ON TEACHER TRAINING

A large proportion of those now teaching the difficult 30 per cent are ill-prepared for the job, and a large proportion of the students now in training are receiving preparation no better than that offered their predecessors. Teachers are poorly prepared both in the substance of what they teach and in the special problems of relating to children suffering from the deprivations of low income or segregation or both. In general, teachers accept assistance when it is offered them. If improved programs for teachers are developed, they will be welcomed.

A teacher teaching youngsters from low-income and segregated groups should know how such youngsters acquire knowledge and how they express what they have learned. She must know that being less verbally sophisticated, they are more inclined to want to do something than to express it in words.

The children may possess other characteristics that also must be taken into account in considering how the teacher approaches them. These include low self-image, resistance to authority, and low motivation. In learning, such children need quick successes, they like to manipulate things, they want no rules, although in the proper circumstances they enjoy discovering rules for themselves. They come from homes in which the parents are not interested in or do not know how to foster the child's natural cognitive development.

The teacher needs to know how to set up materials and situations that will help the children answer their own questions and guide them to ask new questions. She needs to know how to capitalize on the unexpected responses of youngsters. It may be that a youngster, or the class as a whole, may move in an entirely different direction from that initially planned by the teacher, but she should have the willingness and the flexibility to change her own plans in accordance with the direction of the children's curiosity.

When considering the problems of teaching the difficult 30 per cent, warmth takes on special significance. What is required is an understanding of the children's special needs, the kind of understanding typified by a parent fulfilling his child's request to bring him a glass of water before going to sleep, even though both the child and the parent know the child is not thirsty and that this was not the reason for the request.

How might new media be used in teacher education and in getting new ideas across to principals and other administrative personnel?

Films could be used in a variety of ways. One could present a film showing what went on during one particular class hour, or one could group together a number of shots from different classrooms involved in similar situations. Some of the situations shown could be incomplete, and the teachers or prospective teachers could discuss what they would have done in those situations.

Films could show such things as how teachers let their own course of instruction be guided by the responses of the children: how instead of regarding a child's wrong answer as wrong, a teacher determines what went on in the child's mind when he gave the answer and rephrases her question to take this into account. Filmed sequences of children responding to problems could be used to give teachers practice in developing their own ability to rephrase questions.

Part of the problem in teaching teachers is to convince them that these youngsters really can learn and, second, that they really want to learn and will learn more effectively through their own activity and

discovery than when they are forced to sit still and listen to someone else. What is involved is an actual shift in the traditional concept of the teacher's role—from the teacher as lecturer, to the teacher as listener, observer, and participant in the children's learning activity.

Because of writers' special ability to project inner feelings, a course devoted to literature about teachers and children might make a unique contribution toward helping teachers gain insight into the mores and attitudes of children in the difficult 30 per cent, how they feel about school, themselves, and their teachers, as well as illuminating many classroom situations in which an obvious gap exists between the teacher's interpretation of a child's behavior and the child's view of the same situation.

Particularly in slum areas, schools could offer a work-study program for students interested in teaching and related professions. Such a program would combine appropriate courses with actual work experience in neighborhood day care centers, after-school programs, tutoring clinics, etc. It would have the double value of providing service to needy areas and encouraging more young people from these areas to aspire to such professions as teaching. Just as special schools exist for students interested in science or the arts, a similar prestige value could be given to a school for students who think they might be interested in working with people.

Programs that involve amateurs could range from remedial English to music instruction, including the services of many talented and able people who until recently did not think of teaching or working with children or have the opportunity to do so.

There needs to be a recognition of the wide divergence between the goals of the teacher education institution and the goals of the pre-service candidates for teaching. Recent investigations indicate that few teacher education programs pay any attention to the real reasons why young women are in college and, more specifically, in teacher education curricula. Usually, young women come to college because middle-class parents demand it or because college is a good place to find a suitable mate. On the other hand, the college assumes that the student's primary purpose is to be educated academically and to become a teacher. The fact that young women need to become effective in several roles simultaneously is seldom recognized and planned for.

The developmental needs of young people that must be fulfilled include courtship, marriage, child bearing and rearing, earning a

living, and many other adult social and civic roles. Unless the college takes responsibility for helping the young woman to become aware of her many roles, to learn how to fulfill them effectively, she tends to give an exhorbitant amount of time and energy to those roles that are most urgent to the female. Learning to become a teacher (the work role) becomes a less important task, and she never really develops deep professional commitments.

WORKING GROUP ON SCHOOL, COMMUNITY, AND SOCIETY

This group identified eight major problems and formulated general policies to govern proposed solutions of them:

The *limited abilities* of low-income families to play the expected parental role in supporting the child's educational task and experiences. The schools must adopt new strategies for assisting such families to understand the educational process; on the other hand, the schools ought to assume more of the responsibilities normally assigned to parents by American public schools.

Non-involvement of low-income parents in voluntary, self-help associations. Recognizing that the parent associations perform important functions but that parents from low-income groups tend to be poorly prepared or disposed to participate in associations organized along traditional lines, the school can help to develop new patterns more appropriate to local conditions. In addition, every effort should be made to allow parents to perform significant tasks within the school and to include the people of the neighborhood in the planning and leadership of school-community programs of all types.

The general problem of the *social distance* between schools and deprived families. Families that differ substantially from the middle-class norm in their degree of self-initiated involvement in the school program should be approached by the school and the school system with different tactics and organizational designs and, most important, with an understanding of the values and aspirations, the behaviors, the patterns of relationship and of organization characteristic of such families and their neighborhoods.

The problems arising from the *lack of contact* between school personnel and the community. Continued reeducation of school

personnel must be undertaken to enable them to develop effective social relations with parents who are different from themselves in educational achievement, economic level, ethnic identity, and way of life. The personnel of the schools should be encouraged to participate in and contribute to community activities within the neighborhoods served by their schools.

The *psychological problems* of the children of deprived or minority groups. School people must learn to recognize and understand the conditions that lead children to believe and to feel that they are not fully a part of the wider community and society. Such understanding should lead to the development of ways of conducting the work of the school that demonstrate attitudes of acceptance and inclusion. Good cooperative relations with the families of the children also contribute to this end.

Problems arising from the fact that the *socialization of children* under slum conditions occurs in large part in the street and the peer group, outside the control of both school and parents. School people generally do not concern themselves with the out-of-school life of children. Much more needs to be known about how the social experiences of these children, and especially their loyalties to their peer groups, affect their behavior in school and their attitudes toward education. The schools should seek the cooperation of parents to find ways to reduce the damaging effects of street life and to make the most of the educational opportunities it offers.

The problem of the *transiency* of the populations of areas of poverty. The schools ought to reexamine all of their procedures within and outside the classroom to see how well or poorly they are meeting the educational and social consequences of population movement. We do not believe that this problem is currently taken seriously enough by the schools.

The problem of *school boundaries,* with their implications for the selection of school populations of like or unlike children. We agree that school attendance districts must never be drawn with the purpose of excluding specific groups within the population. On the contrary, school boundaries should be drawn to maximize local representation of the groups of which the community is composed. However, although our later proposals assume the concept of the neighborhood school, especially at the elementary level, we believe that this concept must be modified to whatever extent necessary to comply with the full implications of the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

Many school systems employ specialists who provide liaison between the school system and community organizations. Our proposal is that analogous specialists be provided for individual schools in which the problems of relations with lower-class parents are acute. We conceive of such agents as specially trained persons attached permanently to the school staff. More than one such agent may be needed in some schools.

It is our belief that how formidable or cold or indifferent a school appears to its parents is related in large part to the way it is organized, for its organization has much to do with the spirit that prevails within it.

The question of accessibility is also related to size. We believe that the smaller the school the greater the possibility of an organization marked by informality, easy personal relationships, relative professional freedom of teachers, and reduction of bureaucratic procedures.

There are two alternative ways of breaking up large schools: one is to build larger numbers of smaller schools; the other is to subdivide the population within the same building into two or more companion schools.

Large numbers of the children with whose education the conference is concerned are especially disadvantaged because the minorities to which they belong are not only poor but are also non-English-speaking—Mexicans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, French-Canadians. The schools assume that the education of these children should be conducted entirely in English, usually discouraging even the spoken use of the native language within the school walls.

This approach to the language problem is inherited uncritically from the days when the schools were responsible for the rapid assimilation of millions of foreign-language speaking immigrants whose numbers and diversity were regarded as a threat to national social and cultural unity. The "melting pot" theory required that children be Americanized even at the cost of losing the language and culture of their parents, and if many of the parental generation regretted this loss, the fact was that they had cut themselves off permanently from their original homelands and their children would never return to them except as tourists. But the non-English-speaking minorities today are not immigrants permanently cut off from their ancestral cultures. They move back and forth between two cultural worlds, the Puerto Ricans between the island and the mainland, the Mexican-Americans across the border, the Indians to and from the reservation. Their

Americanism is compatible with this dual life. It is not necessary for them to give up their traditional cultures in order to be useful citizens.

It would appear, therefore, that the single-language emphasis of the public schools serving these minorities may be regarded as an unnecessary obstacle to the education of the children. This committee recommends that immediate attention be given to the possibility of developing bilingual and bicultural programs of education for them.

WORKING GROUP ON STRATEGIES FOR ORGANIZATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

Given the magnitude and immediacy of the problem of designing effective programs for the difficult 30 per cent, it will be necessary to shape new programs without the benefit of massive before/after experiments that might provide a more adequate basis for decision making. We shall have to rely on extrapolations of small-scale experiments and on available theory and knowledge about education and about organizational change in mental hospitals, correctional institutions, and other organizations.

Our concrete proposals emphasize federal action. Over the past several decades federal assistance for health, welfare, and many other programs has been extensive. It is now apparent that these programs are not sufficient to provide the necessary conditions for a healthy and productive population. An improved educational program for the nation appears to be another requisite if people are to have contact with the dominant culture and function within it. The federal government can and should give substantial stimulation to the improvement of educational programs, particularly in our urban areas, where slum schools, *de facto* segregation, and other major problems exist.

We emphasize that this is a national problem, that local resources are not adequate to the task, and that state legislatures with their rural domination have not provided special state support for urban school districts.

The problem of our working group, as we have defined it, is how to produce changes in the structure of education—how to use existing institutions better and how to create new ones. To achieve these objectives, the educational establishment must be transformed by taking new steps in institution building.

The structural devices that we propose fall into three general categories: those to be used inside the school system; those to be

used in a mixed relationship between the school and outside agencies; and those to be utilized by outside agencies in a cooperative relationship with the school.

WITHIN-SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Restructuring workloads; redeploying staff. Additional personnel to reduce class size and to provide specialized skills (along with materials) should be provided to schools on the basis of need. A major program should be developed in the use of nonprofessional staff. Federal programs to help restructure workloads in the schools should include monies for developing specialized personnel, at the district superintendent level and as assistants to the principal, who would work at developing specialized curricula for the difficult 30 per cent. There should be a federal program of demonstration grants for experiments with team teaching and other devices for reorganization of teaching in the schools of the difficult 30 per cent and for vocational education.

Increasing teacher incentives. We question the feasibility of the idea that there should be flat differentials in pay for teachers in schools where there are high concentrations of the difficult 30 per cent. Instead, we recommend: (1) altering the workload of teachers and increasing the number of specialists in these schools, so that the proportions of positions with relatively high salaries would be increased in the schools of the difficult 30 per cent; (2) providing additional fringe *benefits, appropriate conveniences and attractive working conditions.*

Developing in-service training. A nationwide program of in-service training for both teachers and administrators should be instituted. Such a program would aim to stimulate, enable, and support full-time, regular, and continuous in-service training in schools for the difficult 30 per cent.

In close cooperation with in-service training programs that seek to raise the skill of the teacher and administrator, special planning should be developed to alter the day-to-day practices of the school.

Altering authority and sanction systems, enhancing autonomy, and redefining relations with professional groups. A federal program should be started to provide each school with teacher resource rooms and to give the teachers time to utilize these resources, to enable universities to develop independent laboratory schools in urban settings as demonstration centers, and to enable school systems to devise cooperative experimental schools within the systems themselves. Because of the importance of testing and other procedures in the schools, the federal government, through the Office of Education, should estab-

lish a research and development program to make a fundamental examination of techniques for evaluating pupil progress.

JOINT PROGRAMS: OUTSIDE AGENCIES AND SCHOOLS

Preschool programs. Preschool education appears to have a major role in the education of the difficult 30 per cent, but it should not be developed at the cost of failing to do whatever is possible to improve the regular K-12 school system.

Flexible attendance areas. One way to contribute to the stability of the child's relationship with the school is to allow the student to retain his enrollment in a given school although he has moved a distance outside of its normal attendance area.

In cities where flexible boundary arrangements are introduced, efforts should be directed at informing and persuading the parents of the importance of keeping their children in the same school after they have moved.

Programs using school-community agents. Following the model of the agricultural agent, federal support should be given to develop a program involving school-community agents. Agents would be provided on the basis of need in the school attendance area. They would concern themselves with recreation programs, vocational education, the extended day programs, classes for adults, and, perhaps, the supervision of attendance officers. School-community agents could have a variety of backgrounds and should operate on an equal level of authority and in a cooperative relationship with the principal, in a separate structure reporting to a district superintendent.

Vocational and specialized programs. Programs of mixed control between schools, businesses, and labor should be developed to give training for work. A program comparable to the National Youth Corps should be developed at the local level and supported with federal funds. Federal money should be provided also for the administration of treatment centers for the most disturbed children in the schools of the difficult 30 per cent.

COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS: OUTSIDE AGENCIES WITH THE SCHOOLS

Cooperation with law enforcement agencies. Effective means must be provided to replace the aggravation of marginal and delinquent tendencies through excessive reliance on formal and negative measures of arrest, adjudication, and detention.

Cooperation with the military. A way should be found to stimulate and enable the military to take greater numbers of volunteers from the difficult 30 per cent. At present they are excluded on the basis of I.Q. test results (for example, an I.Q. of at least 105 may be required) and reading test scores. The army should take those students who volunteer unless they are seriously deficient, giving them the same opportunity for educational and occupational change as other enlistees.

Finally we stress that the tendency of the educational establishment to resist change must not be underestimated. This is an age of tremendous experimentation, innovation, and showcase programs, but little real change. Within a mile radius of the exciting experimental school may be ten traditional schools that are unaffected by it. New ideas excite but often do not diffuse. What diffusion occurs is often subject to severe degradation in the process.

WORKING GROUP ON YOUTH WORK AND YOUTH EDUCATION

Integral to vocational training must be the concept of dignity to insure that the individual will attach meaning, importance, and utility to his job and hence to his life. Just as we have come to realize that being in school may not be enough because the quality of education received is poor, we believe also that jobs *per se* are not enough. Thus, there may be in our society many jobs that should not be performed in the first place and, although they are performed, do not have any kind of meaning or importance and may further degrade or alienate the individual. Conversely, there are many jobs that need doing but do not get done either because society does not attribute value to them or because people are not skilled in ways that would make them capable of filling them. It is misguided and dangerous for educational institutions on a secondary level to prepare students for narrow tasks. Labor-saving devices, automation, and other changes in technology are making a mockery of many of the traditional vocational courses.

Americans must, to a much greater extent, turn their attention to humanistic forms of creativity. We urge strongly the expansion of art programs, art centers, and aid to the young who wish to pursue art as a vocation. Americans must devote much greater attention to assisting the less fortunate in underdeveloped nations and in underdeveloped parts of the United States. These will become the important and necessary humanizing tasks in a highly impersonal, technologically

oriented society. The society must regard such tasks as work and reward their accomplishment accordingly.

Since education must be a continuous process consonant with the entire life of an individual, we favor the initiation of educational institutions that will cater to individuals' educational and life needs throughout their lives. There must be greater flexibility about the age at which individuals should take their training. Social and educational institutions must reflect this kind of flexibility.

We must expand those institutions that rationalize the system of returning to school when further training or retraining is needed. New educational institutions that cater to dropouts will have to come into existence. Concentrated research and development will have to be initiated for this and related projects.

There is a growing awareness that the United States' educational system is not meeting the needs of the current society and that there are too many people whose educational development will not permit them to participate fully and creatively in the nation's life. This fact and the fact that this increasingly numerous group—which includes the dropout, the illiterate, the unskilled, the poorly educated and culturally deprived—turns to destructive activity lead us to conclude that immediate, effective, and creative action is called for from the federal government.

Since it has been learned that young people, particularly adolescents, are more accessible to reparative and rehabilitative efforts in a group, such programs should provide, *as part of the school curriculum,* group *opportunities for personal development. Methods of group dynamics* should be utilized to help students discover constructive and satisfying ways of solving life problems that provide alternatives to antisocial and self-destructive reactions to deprivation. Personnel for this program would be recruited from the fields of medicine, psychology, and social work.

Individual guidance must be made available to students according to need as perceived by staff and/or student. This would include vocational guidance and individual guidance conducted in keeping with principles of social casework. It is imperative that guidance, whether individual or vocational, include aid to parents in helping them better guide their children with personal problems and with vocational choices.

Underlying the current pressing racial and other social problems in the South is an urgent need for economic expansion and industrial development. We must anticipate that the competition for low-

income jobs will become more acute, and unless other opportunities for employment are provided, unemployment and attendant social tension will continue to grow. The need for economic and industrial development is becoming increasingly acute, a fact that is well recognized by political and other leaders in the South. However, economic development can progress only to the extent that capital, resources, and trained manpower and management are available.

In our impersonal technologically centered society, work in art fields can be reparative of individuals and groups; it can promote social development and human conservation; and it can help to beautify and humanize the physical environment. Thus, expanded art activities in all communities would promote the achievement of many of the goals established as desirable in our changing society and would be consistent with our revised concept of work. These activities would accordingly be rewarded as any other personally and socially needed form of work and require similar organizational and educational support.

As a result of our growing awareness of the decaying ecological structure of our cities, we are attempting to alleviate slum conditions by renewing large sections of our cities so that individuals can be afforded greater breathing space and better community living. At the same time, our cities are growing through suburban development that often proceeds in a completely unplanned or random manner. In conformance with the previously stated philosophy of creating jobs that not only contribute to community development but also are personally challenging and rewarding, we believe that much greater effort should be devoted to urban renewal and that this should be undertaken on a national scale. We conceive, however, not only of renewal of existing cities on a more orderly basis than is possible under a non-nationwide cooperative program, but also of extensive efforts to guide city expansion and to contribute to the dispersal of future city growth.

Appendix I:
What These Children Are Like

Transcript of a Talk by
RALPH ELLISON

I assume that all of you know that I really have no business attending this sort of conference. I have no technical terminology and no knowledge of an academic discipline—which isn't boasting, nor is it really an apology. It is just a means of reminding myself of what my reality has been and of what I am. At this point it might be useful for us to ask ourselves a few questions: what is this act, what is this scene in which the action is taking place, what is this agency and what is its purpose?

The act is to discuss the difficult 30 per cent. We know this very well; it has been hammered out again and again. But the matter of *scene* seems to get us into trouble.

The American scene is a diversified one, and the society which gives it its character is a pluralistic society—or at least it is supposed to be. Ideally it is. But we seem to insist, on the other hand, that this society is *not* pluralistic. We have been speaking as though it were *not* made up of diversified cultures but were in fact one monolithic culture. And one *which is perfect, the best of all possible cultures, with the best* of all people affirming its perfection.

Well, if this were true, there would be no point in our being here. But we are here, and since we are let us try to see American society in all of its diversity. One of the things which has been left out in our discussion is imagination. But imagination exists even in the backwoods of Alabama, and here too is to be found a forthright attitude toward what it is possible to achieve and to become in this country.

The education which goes on outside the classrooms, which goes on as they walk within the mixed environment of Alabama, teaches children that they should not reach out for certain things. Much of the education that I received at Tuskegee (now this isn't quite true of

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Oklahoma City) was an education away from the uses of the imagination, away from the attitudes of aggression and courage. This is not an attack. This is descriptive, this is autobiographic. You did not do certain things because you might be destroyed. You didn't do certain things because you were going to be frustrated. I mean that there were things you didn't do because the world outside was not about to accommodate you.

But we're still talking about scene, and thus we're talking about environment. A discussion of scene in terms of culture and diversity serves to remind us that there is no absolutely segregated part of this country. There is no such thing as a culturally deprived kid. That kid down in Alabama, whose parents have no food, where the mill owner has dismantled the mills and moved out West and left them to forage in the garbage cans of Tuskegee, has, nevertheless, some awareness that he is part of a larger American scene. And he is being influenced by this scene. The question is how *does* the fluctuation of the stock market get down there, get to him? How does the electronic manipulation of music get into his musical language? How do the literary theories of the "Fugitives," which have so much prestige in the North, influence his destiny? How is his badly trained teacher going to view him and his possibilities as a future American adult? What I'm trying to say is that the problem seems to me to be one of really scrutinizing the goals of American education.

It does me no good to be told that I'm down on the bottom of the pile and that I have nothing with which to get out. I know better. It does me no good to be told that I have no heroes, that I have no respect for the father principle because my father is a drunk. I would just say to you that there are good drunks and bad drunks. The Eskimos have 16 or more words to describe snow because they live with snow. I have about 25 different words to describe Negroes because I live principally with Negroes. "Language is equipment for living," to quote Kenneth Burke. One uses the language which helps to preserve one's life, which helps to make one feel at peace in the world, and which screens out the greatest amount of chaos. *All* human beings do this.

When you have one body of people who have been sewn together by a common experience—I won't even talk about the cultural heritage from Africa—and when you plant this people in a highly pressurized situation and they survive, they're surviving with all of those motivations and with all of the basic ingenuity which any group develops in order to remain alive. Let's not play these kids cheap; let's find out

what they have. What do they have which is a strength? What do they have that you can approach and build a bridge upon? Education is all a matter of building bridges, it seems to me. Environment is bouncing everything off everybody in this country. It is wide open; television is around—you see antennas on shacks; electric iceboxes on back porches with the electricity brought in from a neighbor's pole; the cars are flying around; the jazz musicians are invading the backwoods with modifications of language, verbal as well as musical; new styles of dress are being introduced. The things which come at you in a Negro grade school are just as diverse as those which will come at you in an upper-class white school. The question is how can you relate the environment to yourself? How can one discover, for instance, that well-cooked chitterlings are part of a cuisine? It took me a lot of living and going to France to realize this obvious fact. I said to myself, "What on earth are these Frenchmen doing? This is peasant food—chitterlings are peasant food. There are some great masters of Negro cooking. Chitterlings must be part of a high low-class cuisine!"

There it is—I only had to recognize it to see the wonder and the glamor in it. Some of us look at the Negro community in the South and say that these kids have no capacity to manipulate the language. Well, these are not the Negroes I know. Because I know that the word play of Negro kids in the South would make the experimental poets, the modern poets, green with envy. I don't mean that these kids possess broad dictionary knowledge, but within the bounds of their familiar environment and within the bounds of their rich oral culture, they possess a great virtuosity with the music, the poetry, of words. The question is how can you get this skill into the mainstream of the language, because it is, without doubt, there. And much of it finds its way into the broader language. Now *I* know this just as William Faulkner knew it. This does not require a lot of testing; all you have to do is to walk into a Negro church.

What filters out this richness when the children come North? It is, in part, a reflection of their sense of being dispossessed of the reality to which their vocabulary referred. Where they once possessed the keys to a traditional environment—the South—they now confront an environment which appears strange and hostile. An environment cluttered with objects and processes for which they have no words and which too often they are prevented from approaching by poverty, custom, and race. They are being educated in the streets.

Sanity suggests that the street child learns that which prepares him to live in the world which is immediate, which is real. To fail to

recognize this is to expect far too much of a human being while crediting him with far too little humanity. At least a part of the repair which was discussed here yesterday is, if applied blindly, the sickness itself.

Thus we must recognize that the children in question are not so much "culturally deprived" as products of a different cultural complex. I'm talking about how people deal with their environment, about what they make of what is abiding in it, about what helps them to find their way, and about that which helps them to be at home in the world. All this seems to me to constitute a culture. If you can abstract their manners, their codes, their customs and attitudes into forms of expression, if you can convert them into forms of art, if you can stylize them and give them many and subtle ranges of reference, then you are dealing with a culture. People have learned this culture; it has been transferred to them from generation to generation, and in its forms they have projected their most transcendent images of themselves and of the world.

Thus one of the problems is to get the so-called "culturally deprived" to realize that if they take what we would give them, they don't have to give up all of that which gives them their own sense of identity. Indeed, the nation needs some of the very traits which they bring with them: the group discipline, the patience, the ability to withstand ceaseless provocation without breaking down or losing sight of their ultimate objective. We need aggressiveness. We need daring. We even need the little guy who, in order to prove himself, goes out to conquer the world. Psychologically Napoleon was not different from the slum kid who tries to take over the block; he just had big armies through which to amplify his aggression.

But how can we keep the daring, the resourcefulness, which we often find among the dropouts? I ask this as one whose work depends upon the freshness of language. How can we keep the discord flowing into the mainstream of the language without destroying it? One of the characteristics of a healthy society is its ability to rationalize and contain social chaos. It is the steady filtering of diverse types and diverse cultural influences that keeps us a healthy and growing nation. The American language is a great instrument for poets and novelists precisely because it could absorb the contributions of those Negroes back there saying "dese" and "dose" and forcing the language to sound and bend under the pressure of their need to express their sense of the real. The damage done to formal grammar is frightful, but it isn't absolutely bad, for here is one of the streams of verbal richness.

As we approach the dropouts, let us identify who *we* are and where

we are. And let us have a little bit of respect for what we were and from whence we came. There is a bit of the phony built into every American. This is inevitable in a conscious society which has developed as swiftly as ours has done. We are faced with endless possibilities for change, for metamorphosis. We change our environment, our speech, our styles of living, our dress, and often our values. And so, in effect, we become somebody else—or so we are tempted to believe. And often we act as though we have no connection with our past. We are all tempted to become actors, and when we forget who we are and where we are from, our phony selves take command.

Well, when the phony me appears there is a favor I would ask of anyone, nudge me and say, "Look, you, you're really just *you!*" Because the great mystery of identity in this country—really on the level of a religious mystery—and one of our greatest challenges, is that everybody here is an American and yet he is a member of some unique minority. Everyone knows this when he starts out into the world, but often we forget it. The best teacher, it seems to me, for those Negro youngsters who have been so harmed, so maimed by the sudden confrontation of a world that is more complex tnan any that they are prepared to deal with, is the teacher who can convey to them an awareness that they do, indeed, come from somewhere, some place of human value, and that what they've learned there does count in the larger society.

Let us remind ourselves that it is not merely the lower-class Negro child who has difficulties in dealing with our society. For after teaching three years in a progressive school where I had only two or three Negro students, I am aware that we here should also be concerned with people who come from sections of the society lying far distant from the Negro slums. Therefore I do not believe that the basic problem is a Negro problem, no matter what the statistics tell us. I do believe that there has to be some effort made to bring our system of education into line with what we say we are and into line with those ideals which we celebrate in ritual and ceremony on patriotic occasions. If you have a society in which all men are declared equal (I am not speaking racially now), then it seems to me that you must act out of an assumption that any people which has not been destroyed after 300 years of our history and which is still here among us is a people possessing great human potentialities and strengths which they have derived from their background. And it follows that those potentialities are to be respected.

One of the worst things for a teacher to do to a Negro child is to treat him as though he were completely emasculated of potentiality. And this, I'm sorry to say, is what I have found Negro teachers doing.

Not all, fortunately, but far too many. At Tuskegee during the '30's, most of the teachers would not speak to a student outside the classroom. The students resented it, *I* resented it—I'll speak personally—I could never take them very seriously as teachers. Something was in the way. A fatal noise had been introduced into the communication.

As you can see, I am not making this a racial matter. I insist, in fact, that the harm can be done by anyone from any background. To speak topically, there are a lot of distortions getting into the picture of the Negro situation now as we Negroes become more publicly agitated over our condition. Our enemies are being sharply designated, and this is a good thing. Nevertheless, the first people to do Negroes damage are usually other Negroes. If it were otherwise, we wouldn't be human; we'd be somehow immune to the shaping force of our parents and relatives and to the presence of our immediate community. Much of the damage sustained by Negroes begins in the Negro family, and much of it occurs in the Negro nursery school, the kindergarten, and the first few grades. Worse, the people who do the harm are not always vicious. But very often they dislike themselves, and very often they have utter contempt for us little "burrheads."

And consider this: one of the most influential musicians to come out of Oklahoma was a gifted boy who never took part in school musical activities (and ours was a musically oriented Negro community) because he was considered "lower class" in his attitudes. I refer to Charlie Christian, the jazz guitarist, who accomplished that rare feat of discovering the jazz idiom, the jazz voice, of a classical instrument. And yet, here was a child who lived in a hotbed of everything that middle-class people fear—the tuberculosis rate was sky-high, crime, prostitution, bootlegging, illness. There was all of the distintegration which you find among rural Negroes who are pounding themselves to death against the sharp edges of an urban environment. Yet this was one of the most wonderful places I've ever known. Here imagination was freely exercised by the kids. They made toys. They made and taught themselves to play musical instruments. They lived near the city dump, and they converted the treasures which they found there to their own uses. This was an alive community in which the harshness of slum life was inescapable but in which the strength, the imagination of the people, was much in evidence. And yet you would have to say that it was indeed lower class, and lower-lower class, and according to the sociologists utterly hopeless. Certainly it was no place to search for good minds or fine talent.

But how many geniuses do you get *anywhere?* And where *do* you

find a first class imagination? Who really knows? Imagination is where you find it; thus we must search the whole scene. Oh, but how many pretentious little kids have we been able to develop through progressive education! We can turn out a hell of a lot of these. I once taught at Bard College, where the students were highly articulate, some of them highly imaginative and creative. But many were utterly unprepared by their education to live in this world without extensive aid. What I'm trying to say is that it is *not* that we are all estranged from our backgrounds and given skills that don't apply to the real world, but that something basically wrong is happening to our educational system. We are missing the target, and all of our children are suffering as a result. To be ill-clothed, ill-housed, and ill-fed is not the only way to suffer deprivation. Frank Reissman, who taught at Bard, has much to say about the "culturally deprived child," but does he recognize that many there were also culturally deprived kids? When a child has no sense of how he should fit into the society around him, he is culturally deprived—no matter how high his parents' income. When a child has no fruitful way of relating the cultural traditions and values of his parents to the diversity of cultural forces with which he must live in a pluralistic society, he is culturally deprived. When he has to spend a great part of his time in the care of a psychoanalyst he is, again, culturally deprived. Thus I would broaden the definition.

Now, what is the source of this trouble? Obviously this is not a Negro problem. Obviously it is not only the result of great cultural deprivation or family dislocation, because the students there were for the most part middle class, and in fact 80 percent were Jewish. When compared with the Negro slum family their backgrounds were quite stable indeed. Therefore it seems to me that there has been some more basic dislocation between that which an education is supposed to guarantee the child and the nature of the world in which he has to live. For one thing many American children have not been trained to reject so many of the negative values which our society presses upon them. Nor have they been trained sufficiently to preserve those values which sustained their forefathers and which constitute an important part of their heritage. Frequently they are not trained to identify those aspects of the environment to which it is to their best interest—and to the best interest of the nation—to say "no." Too often they have not been taught that there are situations, processes, experiences, that are not only to be avoided, but feared. Think of how many of our youth from the best middle-class families have taken to drugs.

Which brings me back to the education which the child gets in the street. There is a conflict between the child's own knowledge, his own

intuitive feeling, and the sense of security which he gets through the gang that leads him to *reject* many of the values which are offered him by the schools. He has found a counter-scheme for living. Museums are rejected because they make him think of going places and doing things that are ultimately frustrating. The New York theaters have been open to Negroes for years and years. How many attend them? How many of us do you see in downtown audiences? More than ever before, true, but certainly not in proportion to the Negro population. Let us not discuss the irrelevance of the plays presented there. The point is that this represents a world beyond reach. Indeed, do I dare turn my imagination, even as a writer, upon the possibility of living in that world from which I'm partially barred? I could only do so as an act of faith or recklessness. The schools weren't the least bit encouraging. But I was always interested in writing, and finally I became interested in how writing was written. And then I realized that I couldn't afford *not* to become a writer; I had to become a writer because I had gotten the spirit of literature and had become aware of the possibilities offered by literature—not to make money, but to feel at home in the world, to feel that I could come into the possession of a certain part of reality.

I'm fascinated by this whole question of language, because when you get people who come from a southern background where language is manipulated with great skill and verve and who upon coming north become inarticulate, then you *know* that the proper function of language is being frustrated.

Now, the great body of Negro slang—that unorthodox language—exists precisely because Negroes need words which will communicate, which will designate the objects, the processes, the manners and subtleties of their urban experience with the least amount of distortion from the outside. So the problem is, once again, what do we choose and what do we reject of what the greater society makes available? These kids with whom we're concerned, these dropouts, are living critics of their environment, of our society, and of our educational system. And they are quite savage critics of some of their teachers.

Now, I don't know what intelligence is. But this I do know, both from life and from literature: whenever you reduce human life to $2+2=4$, the human element within the human animal says, "I don't give a damn." You can work on that basis, but the kids cannot. If you can show me how I can cling to that which is real to me, while teaching me a way into the larger society, then I will not only drop my defenses and my hostility, but I will sing your praises and I will help you to make the desert bear fruit.

Appendix II: Dimensions of the Problem

DAVID STREET*

The data presented here were compiled to indicate the magnitude and characteristics of the problem faced in attempting to produce positive change in the education of the difficult 30 per cent. The data have been gleaned from a variety of educational, demographic, and other statistical sources. Because many sources were used and as a result of varying procedures of compilation and estimation used by different agencies, many of the figures are not strictly consistent or comparable. For the purpose of laying out the broad parameters of the problem, these figures and estimates should be sufficient, however.

In this appendix we present data on the following major areas: (1) present numbers of pupils, teachers, instructional personnel, schools, and districts in the United States; (2) recent population changes; (3) projected future enrollments; (4) major social trends and problems, including racial trends which have a bearing on the educational problem; (5) some measures of educational performance; and (6) enrollments by city and school district size.

The following are among the significant patterns requiring consideration in planning action for the difficult 30 per cent that emerge from these data. (1) Despite the continuing rise in over-all educational performance, we see many indications of academic inadequacy, dropouts, insufficiency in providing employment skills, and social deviancy that continue and are concentrated in certain parts of the school population. (2) We find that the schools must be altered within the context of population growth and social trends toward urban concentration, inner city deterioration, concentration of Negroes in Northern Central cities, and continuing unemployment, with rising skill and educational requirements in the labor force creating a concentration of people at the bottom of an affluent society. (3) We see that efforts at change must be made in a highly decentralized educational structure involving more than 30,000 school systems, 135,000 schools, 100,000 functionaries, 1.5 million teachers, and 46.4 million

* Prepared through the facilities of the Center for Social Organization Studies, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, especially with the aid of Charles A. Goldsmid, research assistant.

students—rising to approximately 60 million students by 1980. Fortunately, in terms of the opportunity to attack the problem, a large proportion of the difficult 30 per cent of students is concentrated in a relatively small number of big city school systems. (4) We find that the ethnic ghettoes of the central city, formerly populated by successive waves of European population but now increasingly Negro, continue to be areas marked by a concentration of different social problems—juvenile delinquency, school dropouts, unemployment, mental illness, suicide, etc.—now complicated by the heavy mantle of racial discrimination.

I. Approximate Numbers of Pupils, Teachers, Instructional Personnel, Schools, and Districts in the U. S.

A. Elementary and Secondary Enrollment, 1962-63

Public kindergarten and elementary	29.4 million
Public secondary	10.3 million
Public total	39.7 million
Private kindergarten and elementary	5.4 million
Private secondary	1.3 million
Private total	6.7 million
Grand total	46.4 million

B. Numbers of Classroom Teachers in Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1959-60

	Men	*Women*	*Both sexes*
Public k-elementary	117,616	716,156	833,722
Public secondary	275,054	246,132	521,186
Public total	392,670	962,288	1,354,958
Private k-elementary	6,950	112,709	119,659
Private secondary	24,185	31,789	55,974
Private total	31,135	144,498	175,633
Grand total	423,805	1,106,786	1,530,591

C. Total Instructional Personnel, Public Schools Only, 1959-60

Classroom teachers	1,354,958
Principals and assistant principals	63,554
Consultants or supervisors of instruction	13,775
Librarians	15,816
Guidance	13,119
Psychological	2,054
Other nonsupervisory instructional	755
Total	1,464,031

D. Numbers of Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1959-60

Public kindergarten and elementary	91,853
Public secondary	25,784
Public total	117,637
Private kindergarten and elementary	13,574
Private secondary	4,061
Private total	17,635
Grand total	135,272

E. Numbers of Public School Districts, 1961-62

Total	37,025
Number of districts that actually operate schools	30,994

Source: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1962* (OE-10024; Bulletin 1963, No. 10). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962.

A.—Table 2
B.—Table 3
C.—Table 16
D.—Table 13
E.—Table 12

II. Recent Population Change

A. Approximate increase in total U. S. population, 1950-1960 19%

B. Approximate increase in U. S. school-age population (ages 5-17), 1950-1960 47%

C. Approximate increase in U. S. public school enrollment, 1950-1960 44%

Source: NEA RESEARCH BULLETIN, 39 (February, 1961), pp. 3, 4. The difference between B and C is largely due to increased private school enrollment rather than to changes in the proportion of school-age children who go to school.

III. Projected Future Enrollments, Elementary and Secondary Schools and Colleges.

In the years following World War II the number of marriages and births increased dramatically. The pressure from this trend was felt in the elementary schools starting in the early 1950's and is currently being felt in the high schools. In the immediate future the colleges

will get the pressure, and then the entire system will begin to bear the brunt of the second generation of the baby boom. Projections vary from the most conservative (A) to the most liberal (D) on the basis of differing assumptions about birth and enrollment rates.

	Kindergarten elementary	High school	K.-elem., high	College	K.-elem., h.s., college
			(in millions) Total		Grand Total
Base estimate 1960	32.4	10.2	42.6	3.6	46.3
1970					
Projection A	36.4	14.1	50.5	5.3	55.7
Projection B	36.8	14.9	51.7	7.0	58.7
Projection C	37.9	14.1	52.0	5.3	57.3
Projection D	38.4	14.9	53.3	7.0	60.3
1980					
Projection A	41.2	14.8	56.0	6.3	62.3
Projection B	41.8	15.6	57.4	8.8	66.2
Projection C	47.9	16.4	64.3	6.5	70.8
Projection D	48.7	17.4	66.1	9.0	75.1

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, *Current Population Reports, Population Estimates,* Series P-25, No. 232 (June 22, 1961), "Illustrative Projections to 1980 of School and College Enrollment in the U. S."

IV. Major Social Trends and Problems

A. Urbanization and "Metropolitanization"

	Percentage of total U. S. population living in:	
	Urban places (2500 up)	Standard metropolitan statistical areas
Base, 1950 census	64.0	41.5
1960 estimate	68.0	48.7
1970 projection	70.0	54.0
1980 projection	73.0	58.0

B. Racial Changes and Patterns

The data presented here indicate: (1) the present size and future anticipated growth of the nonwhite population; (2) the youthful distribution of the nonwhite population, as indicated by median age; (3) the differential fertility rate for the nonwhite population, which explains this difference in age distribution; (4) illustrative projections

of the size of white and nonwhite groups for a northern city, Chicago; and (5) changes observed and expected in the distribution of Negroes North and South and rural and urban.

	Whites	Nonwhites
		(in millions)
1. U. S. population		
1950 census	134.9	15.7 (10.5% of total)
1960 projection	159.8	20.3 (11.3% of total)
1970 projection	188.4	25.5 (11.9% of total)
1980 projection	226.9	33.1 (12.7% of total)
2. U. S. median age, 1962	29.7	22.5
3. U. S. crude birth rate, 1962	21.3/1000	31.0/1000
4. Chicago city population, age 5-9.		
1960 census	210,000	103,000 (33% of total)
1970 projection	187,000	122,000 (40% of total)
1980 projection	167,000	171,000 (51% of total)
1990 projection	149,000	201,000 (57% of total)

5. Distribution of Negroes
   - 1910—27% lived in urban areas (2500 and up); 89% in South.
   - 1940—About half lived in urban areas.
   - 1950—About 60% lived in urban areas; 68% in South; 90% of those living in North and West were urban.
   - 1960—About two-thirds lived in urban areas; 60% in South.
   - 1970—Expect about three-fourths to live in urban areas; about 50% in South.

C. Family Mobility

There are numerous indications of high family mobility in the United States, particularly in the central cities of metropolitan areas. Census data describing the mobility of the American population between March, 1960, and March, 1961, indicate the following: of the total population of 177.4 million persons over one year of age in March, 1960, 35.5 million (20%) were not living in the same house one year later; of this 35.5 million, 11.2 million (6.3%) lived in different counties at the later date; about 5.8 million (3.2%) lived in different states. If we distinguish mobility by race we find: among Negroes, 23% living in different dwelling units on the two dates, and among whites, 18.7% living in different dwelling units. An indication of the high mobility that exists in the central city slums is found in many reports by big city public school officials of schools in which there is a net mobility of 100% or more in a single year.

D. Percentage of unemployment by race, 1957

Through the eleven years from 1947 to 1957 inclusive, the nationwide rate of unemployment for nonwhite workers was 90% higher than for white workers, and the differential was even greater in times of recession.

White			Nonwhite		
Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes
3.8	4.5	4.0	9.2	8.0	8.7

E. Substandard Housing

About 15.1 million, or about one-fourth, of the 58.3 million dwelling units in the U. S. are classified by the Bureau of Census as dilapidated, lacking one or more plumbing facilities, or with "deteriorated" plumbing facilities. Of these 15.1 million units, 10.6 million units are dilapidated and/or lack one or more plumbing facilities.

F. Varying Estimates of the Number of Poor in the U. S.

1. *Lampman Congressional Study*, 1957 data. The number living with less than the equivalent of $2,500 income for a family of four	32 million 19% of population
2. *AFL-CIO Study*, 1958 data. The number in families of 2 or more with less than $2,500 income plus the number of persons living alone with less than $1,500 income	41 million 24% of population
3. *Michael Harrington's analysis*	50 million 28% of population
4. *Conference on Economic Progress*, 1960 data. The number living with less than the equivalent of $4,000 for an urban family of 4	38 million 21% of population
5. *Morgan-David-Cohen-Brazer Study*, national survey in 1960. Proportion of families with less than 9/10 of an adequate minimum budget adjusted in detailed ways (e.g., less than $4,330 for a family of employed man, wife, and children 8 and 11 years old)	20% of families sampled (and 28% of "spending units")

G. Characteristics of the Poor

1. The Morgan-David-Cohen-Brazer study defines poor families as those whose incomes are less than 9/10 of what they estimate to be an adequate minimum budget. Hence, a "welfare ratio" (gross disposable

income divided by estimated minimum budget requirement) of less than 0.9 defines inadequate income or poverty.

Distribution of all American families

Welfare ratio	Percentage of families
0.0-0.4	6
0.5-0.6	7
0.7-0.8	7
Total	20 (N=755)
(cutting point for inadequacy of income, i.e., poverty)	
0.9-1.0	10
1.1-1.2	10
1.3-1.5	14
1.6-2.0	21
2.1 and over	25
Total	80 (N=2045)
Grand total	100 (N=2800)

2. Of the poor American families (the 20%), the following percentages of the heads of these families had the characteristics indicated below, each a "likely cause of poverty."

Characteristic of head	Percentage of poor families whose head had characteristics
a. aged	39
b. disabled (but not a, i.e., not aged)	46
c. single but with children (not a, b)	45
d. some unemployment in previous year (not a-c)	27
e. nonwhite (not a-d)	47
f. self-employed businessman or farmer (not a-e)	21
g. other (not a-f)	8

3. In the same study, percentage of the geographical distribution of poor families in the nation was as listed below.

Region	Poor families	All families
Northeast	16	23
North Central	23	29
South	51	33
West	10	15
Total	100 (N=755)	100 (N=2800)

2

4. From a wide variety of data, these authors infer *a permanence of low incomes* among the currently poor population. They cite, for example: (a) data on past earnings of heads of poor families which suggest chronically low earnings; (b) meager assets held by the poor which resulted from low income, financial disaster, and poor financial management in the past; and (c) inadequate health insurance and pension provisions. Perhaps the most meaningful supportive data for the permanence of low incomes is the authors' finding that "on the average the heads of poor families *have never earned as much as it would cost to support their present families at the levels specified.*" The study presents figures on the highest income ever earned by the family heads of poor families.

Highest yearly income ever earned by head	Percentage of poor families
$1-949	14
$950-1949	18
$1950-2949	18
$2950-4949	21
$4950 and over	12
Not ascertained	17
Total	100

5. In the Lampman Study, the *characteristics of the 32 million poor* were as follows:

8 million	were 65 years old or over
6.4 million	were nonwhite
8 million	were female family heads
21 million	had heads of families with an 8th-grade education or less
11 million	were children less than 18

H. Poverty, Education, and Discrimination

The Morgan-David-Cohen-Brazer study states that poor education among all but a few heads of poor families in their national sample is partly responsible for the inability of these heads to earn adequate incomes as defined by their welfare ratios, discussed above. However, a careful analysis of the characteristics of families whose incomes are inadequate reveals that they should earn considerably more than they do on the basis of their education and other characteristics. The discrepancy may arise from psychological dependency, lack of motivation, lack of intelligence, and a variety of other factors that were not studied.

In thinking about the discrepancy between educational and economic attainment among heads of poor families, it is helpful to

remember that any given poor family may have more than one likely cause of poverty applicable to it, e.g., the head of the family may be both (a) single and supporting a child, and (b) had less than full employment in the preceding year. (For example, the study estimated on the basis of its research that 29% of heads of poor families who experienced unusual unemployment in 1959 are also nonwhite, and that 43% of the poor single parents with children are nonwhite.) The effect, of course, is compounding; the "causes" are interrelated. Further, there is some "transmission" of poverty from parents to children.

In searching for additional causes of this discrepancy and in trying to grasp the scope of the problem of educating the difficult 30%, it will be profitable to examine briefly some relationships between educational attainment, economic attainment, occupation, and race. This is of direct relevance to the dropout problem, for example.

1. The Morgan-David-Cohen-Brazer study indicates that being nonwhite is a likely cause of poverty, an involuntary situational factor that leads to low earning power due to discrimination.

2. A recent re-analysis of 1960 U. S. Census data by Paul M. Siegal has demonstrated that holding occupation and educational attainment constant (within both the North and South) that nonwhites consistently earn less than whites—the differential sometimes being as great as $1,000.

3. Evidence suggests that this differential in earning increases as you go up the occupational scale, i.e., from unskilled worker to professional. This is of great importance since, as Siegal points out, race relations are often "determined" by the relative position of one group to another. This data shows that the relative economic position of the nonwhite decreases as his educational attainment increases.

4. There is a serious implication here for educating the difficult 30 per cent. "The data," says Siegal, "provide no support for the view that education will immediately remove the financial and occupational handicaps imposed on the Negro. On the contrary, they suggest that increasing the level of educational attainment of the Negro may lead to higher differential between nonwhites and whites, at least in the short run . . . we might advance a simple investment model to account for the differentially high Negro school dropout rate as reflecting investor choices of other better paying investments. We might speak of the motivation provided the civil rights movement by the discovery on the part of thousands of young Negroes that their coveted education wasn't worth much on the open market."

I. Juvenile Delinquency

1. In 1959 more than 750,000 children in the U. S. between ages 10-17 came before the juvenile courts. In each year since 1954, roughly 2% of all children 10-17 have been involved in court cases. This is in contrast to the approximate rate of 1% court involvement in the pre-World War II years. Further, in each year since 1952, when the FBI inaugurated its present system of reporting arrests, the number of persons under 18 years of age arrested has increased more rapidly than have arrests of older persons.

2. In the 1950-60 period, the number of children between the ages 10-17 increased 45 per cent. But the FBI reports that in the same period the number of arrests in this age group more than doubled.

3. These data, however, represent only the overt part of the delinquency problem. In testimony before Congress it was stated that evidence exists indicating that juvenile crime might be more than double the rate given in official reports.

4. FBI data indicate that young people tend overwhelmingly to commit crimes against property. But, while there is no definite evidence and while property offenses still constitute the bulk of juvenile crime, there are indications that juvenile delinquency has been growing more violent and destructive over the past few decades.

5. There appears to be a direct relationship between delinquency and the degree of urbanization. The highest rates of juvenile delinquency are found in urban areas, the lowest rates in rural areas, and semi-urban areas fall in between. Data show that delinquent involvement of lower-class children is higher than of those children with more favorable social and economic backgrounds. Estimates of the number of delinquents among Negroes range from about two to five times as high as would be expected on the basis of the proportion of Negroes in the total population. Shaw and McKay found juvenile delinquency rates to be highest in the inner city areas that are generally characterized by physical deterioration and the concentration of other social problems such as poverty, suicide, adult crime, and mental illness. This ecological finding held true regardless of which particular subgroup of the population occupied this area.

6. An indication of the relationship between delinquency and urbanization is found in the following data on delinquency in Chicago. In 1960, Chicago's 386,294 juveniles comprised 10.9% of the city's 3.5 million population. Police Department statistics show that there were in that year 32,260 youthful offenders, 8% of the total youth population (10-17). This is in sharp contrast to the national average

rate of 2% cited above. Of these 32,260 youthful offenders, 15,638, or 49%, had at least one previous contact with the police. Referrals to the Family (Juvenile) Court of Cook County were 8.5% higher in 1962 than in 1961, and 5.4% higher in 1961 than in 1960.

J. Recorded Illegitimate Live Births, 1961

For the United States, mothers ages 19 and below: 98,500. This number is 40% of the total number of recorded illegitimate live births recorded in 1961: 240,200.

K. Public Assistance, 1962

A.D.C.	943,000 families with 3,823,000 persons including 2,871,000 children
General assistance	353,000 cases
Old age assistance	2,226,000 cases
Permanently and totally disabled	437,000 cases
Blind	100,000 cases

Sources:

A. & B. Philip M. Hauser, *Population Perspectives.* New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960, pp. 97-98, 126-127.
U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1963.* Washington, 1963, pp. 28, 52.
Donald J. Bogue and D. P. Dandekar, *Population Trends and Prospects for the Chicago-Northwestern Indiana Consolidated Metropolitan Area: 1960-1990.* Chicago: University of Chicago, Population Research and Training Center, 1963.

C. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1963.* Washington: 1963, p. 37, Table 33.

D. Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959, pp. 636-637, Table 19-4.

E. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1963.* Washington: 1963, p. 760, Table 1073.

F.-H. Robert J. Lampman, *The Low Income Population and Economic Growth.* Washington: Congressional Joint Economic Committee, December 1959.
Michael Harrington, *The Other America.* New York: Penguin, 1962.
James N. Morgan, Martin H. Davis, Wilbur J. Cohen, and Harvey E. Brazer, *Income and Welfare in the United States.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
Conference on Economic Progress, *Poverty and Deprivation in the United States.* Washington: Conference on Economic Progress, 1962.
Paul M. Siegal, *On the Cost of Being a Negro.* Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Sociology, unpublished master's paper, forthcoming.

I. Albert K. Cohen and James F. Short, Jr., "Juvenile Delinquency," in Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet, *Contemporary Social Problems.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961.

U. S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population and Housing, 1960.* Washington.
Chicago Police Department, Youth Division, *Annual Report.* Chicago: 1962.
Family Court of Cook County, *Annual Report, 1962.* Chicago: 1962.
Congressional Record, House of Representatives, December 30, 1961, p. 16471.

J. U. S. Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1963.* Washington: 1963, p. 56.

K. U. S. Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1963.* Washington: 1963, p. 305, Table 409.

V. Some Measures of Educational Performance

A. Dropout Rate

Out of every 1,000 children entering fifth grade in 1954 (in public and nonpublic schools) in the U. S., 684 were in 12th grade in 1962. Of these, 336 were reported as having gone on to college.

Of the 2.4 million pupils who were enrolled in the ninth grade in the 1958-9 school year, 30.3% had not graduated four years later. When this figure is broken down by states, we find:

16 states in which the figure was over 35.0%
7 states in which the figure was over 35.0% but under 40.0%
9 states in which the figure was 40.0% or more

The U. S. Department of Labor in October, 1961, surveyed the employment status of June, 1961 graduates and pregraduation dropouts who would have graduated in 1961 if they had made normal progress. The survey found that 900,000 of the 1,750,000 June 1961 graduates were not in college, and most of them were in the labor force; 18 per cent were unemployed. The 350,000 dropouts (those over age 16 who left school before high school graduation) had an unemployment rate of 27 per cent.

B. Literacy

The Census Bureau classifies as illiterate those persons 14 years and over who do not have a sixth-grade education and who do not claim they can read and write in any language. Under this definition, the bureau found, in 1960, the following numbers of illiterates:

Population age 14 and over	Illiterate		Percentage illiterate by color	
	Number	Percentage	White	Nonwhite
121.4 million	2.6 million	2.2	1.6	7.5

These figures indicate illiteracy at the minimal level. However, we shall try to make some estimate of the numbers of "functionally illiterate" simply by seeing how many persons of 25 years and above, in 1960, had no more than a fourth-grade education (we also present data on other grade levels):

8.3 million (8.3%) had completed less than 5 years of schooling
22.1 million (22.1%) had completed less than 8 years of schooling
39.5 million (39.6%) had completed less than 9 years of schooling

Of the 8.3 million with less than a fifth-grade education we find:

6.0 million are white
2.3 million are nonwhite
5.2 million are in urban areas
2.3 million are from rural nonfarm areas
.8 million are from rural farm areas

C. Selective Service Mental Test

Of those registrants taking the selective service mental test, 24.7% fail nationally. There is a range among the states of between 5.6% and 61.9%. (There is of course, a large selectivity factor at work here that determines who takes the test.)

D. Teacher Qualifications

Proportion of teachers with less than standard certification, Fall, 1961: 6.1%.

E. Curtailed Enrollment

Thirty-five states and the District of Columbia reported to the Office of Education that in 1963 a total of 409,000 pupils were attending school less than half a full or normal school day. Three-fifths of these pupils were in elementary school.

F. Pupils in Excess of Normal Capacity

1.7 million pupils (or 4.1% of total enrollment of public elementary and secondary schools) were "in excess" of normal capacity of accessible public schools in use.

G. Class Size

1. *Office of Education Data, Fall, 1963, for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools*

	Mean pupil-teacher ratio
United States	25.5
13 large cities	27.9

2. *National Education Association Data, March, 1962, for Public Elementary Schools*

	Median ratio	Mean ratio
United States	30.3	29.6
18 school districts with 100,000 pupils or more	33.1	32.3

3. *National Education Association Data, March, 1962, for Public Elementary Schools*

	Percentage of pupils in classes in excess of:				
	25	*30*	*35*	*40*	*45*
United States	84.6	51.3	16.4	3.0	0.8
18 school districts with 100,000 pupils or more	93.9	72.6	30.1	4.8	0.5

H. Number of Additional Instructional Rooms Estimated as Needed, United States, Fall, 1961 127,165

I. Enrollment in Federally Aided Vocational Classes, United States and Outlying Parts, 1960-1961

Agriculture	805,322
Home economics	1,610,334
Trade and industry	963,609
Distributive occupations	306,083
Practical nursing	47,264
Area programs	122,952
	3,855,564

The latter figures indicate, first, the relatively small portion of the school population that is involved in federally aided vocational programs and second, how over 60% of the students enrolled in these programs are in the two areas, agriculture and home economics, which originally were developed for a then basically rural population.

Sources:

A. & B. U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1962.* Washington: 1962, p. 12, Table 4; pp. 16-17, Table 7.
National Educational Association, Research Division, *School Dropouts.* Washington: April, 1963, p. 4, Table 3, and p. 5.
U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1963.* Washington: 1963, p. 120, Table 153; p. 123, Table 158.

C. National Education Association, Research Division, *Research Bulletin,* vol. 39 (February, 1961), p. 30.

D.-H. National Education Association, Research Division, *Class Size in Elementary Schools, 1962.* Washington: 1962, Tables 2, 3, 4, and 6.
"Class Size in Elementary Schools," National Education Association *Research Bulletin,* 40 (December, 1962), pp. 105-110.
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Enrollment, Teachers and Schoolhousing.* Washington: 1964, Tables 8, 9, and 10.

I. U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1962.* Washington: 1962, p. 44, Table 23.

VI. Enrollments by City and School District Sizes

A. City Size

Of the 39.7 million public school pupils in the U. S. in 1962-63, approximately 3.8 million, or 9.6%, were enrolled in the 14 big city systems that belong to the Great Cities Organization.

In a computation of data for the year 1959-60, it was found that about 7.4% of the students in the U. S. were in cities of a million and up, about 20.4% were in cities of 100,000 and up, and about 23.7% were in cities of 25,000 and up.

B. District Size, 1961-2

These data also indicate how the millions of students in the U. S. are concentrated in a relatively small number of school systems.

	School systems		Pupils enrolled (in 1000's)		Cumulative percentage	
Enrollment size	Number	%	Number	%	Districts	Pupils
25,000 and up	132	0.4	9,947	26.3	0.4	26.3
12,000 to 24,999	266	0.7	4,321	11.4	1.1	37.7
6,000 to 11,999	671	1.8	5,542	14.7	2.9	52.4
3,000 to 5,999	1,495	4.0	6,266	16.6	6.9	69.0
1,800 to 2,999	1,686	4.6	3,903	10.3	11.5	79.3
1,200 to 1,799	1,591	4.3	2,336	6.2	15.8	85.5
600 to 1,199	3,159	8.5	2,703	7.1	24.3	92.6
300 to 599	3,486	9.4	1,505	4.0	33.7	96.6
150 to 299	3,081	8.3	672	1.8	42.0	98.4
50 to 149	4,214	11.4	387	1.0	53.4	99.4
15 to 49	6,581	17.8	173	0.5	71.2	99.9
1 to 14	4,632	12.5	44	0.1	83.7	100.0
None	6,031	16.3	—	—	100.0	100.0
Total	37,025	100.0	37,800	100.0		

Sources: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1962.* Washington: 1962, p. 26, Table 12, and p. 9, Table 2.

Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement, *Membership and Staffing Analysis.* (mimeographed) Chicago: Great Cities Program, March 8, 1963.

Appendix III:
Roster of Seminar Participants

Although the majority of participants were present for most of the seminar, some were present for only one day or just a few days.

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